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The Outlook

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Batter Up!

THE official professional baseball season had its hurrah-day on April 15, with the now traditional ceremony of the tossing in of the ball by President, Governor, or Mayor—whichever is most convenient, for nobody from Mr. Coolidge down misses doing it if he has the chance. Brass bands blared; championship pennants were raised; the number of peanut bags sold (and their smallness in size, too) rivaled the circus; 45,000 fans at one game yelled and wished it were warmer, while the players fresh from winter practice in the not-this-year-very-warm South declared that the day was perfect. They are off! The long struggle for the two league pennants and ultimately for world championship is on. The fans will pay their money; the clubs will conduct a business that rivals Ford's; the newspaper dopesters will write millions of prophetic, cryptic, and technical sentences about performances and prospects. But probably the young fellows on the back lots and the village diamonds who opened their season a little earlier with less skill but more real enthusiasm are having the best fun, after all.

The incertitude of baseball is evidenced by the fact that the great and famous World Champions, the New York Yankees (how did they get that name?), have as we write lost four games out of five, and stand next to last in the American League, while their famous clouter, the one and only Bambino, has shown his admirers just one home run. These are early days, however, and nothing is "sure certain" in baseball.

For our part, we should "admire to see" some now tail-end club win the big prize, and thereby show that even in baseball the biggest purse doesn't always bring home the bacon.

Figures and Politics

THERE is nothing which interests the average person less than columns of figures. Yet we suspect that many of our readers will find the columns of figures in this week's recapitulation of the ballots for "The Platforms of the People" the most interesting thing in this issue of The Outlook.

What is a Democrat? What is a Republican? There is more evidence on this point in our two pages of statistics than in any number of political orations concerning the political descendants of Abraham Lincoln and the lineal heirs of Thomas Jefferson. On some issues the voices of Republicans and Democrats remind us of the old story told at a Yale banquet concerning the Harvard graduate, one of whose two sons followed in his father's footsteps, while the other abandoned his collegiate allegiance and went to Yale. "What was the result?" he was asked. "Well," he said, "John turned out to be a typical Harvard snob, and George a typical Yale roughneck; and hanged if I can tell the difference between them."

There are certain other issues upon which the distinction between the parties is clearer. Outstanding issues in this regard are the League of Nations, the tariff, and the sale of arms to foreign governments, but the whole table of comparisons invites study and analysis.

One subscriber writes: "I did not realize how little I knew about National problems until I attempted to fill out your ballot. But I can assure you that I will get all the information I can between now and election time." We believe that our "Platforms of the People" have been more than worth while for the stimulus they have given to constructive thought.

A Keynote and a Record

WHO shall make the "keynote speech" at the Republican National Convention has not been decided. Whoever is chosen for that political function may certainly find his material marshaled for him in Secretary Hughes's address at the New York Republican State Convention on April 15.

Mr. Hughes set forth in an orderly way, neither vainglorious nor deprecatory, the achievement of the Harding and Coolidge Administrations and the party's claim to be trusted again with power.

The speaker did not dodge the issue raised by the charges and evidence-hunting investigations still in progress. He declared as the Republican attitude President Coolidge's "high-minded, unequivocal statement:"

> For us, we propose to follow the clear, open path of justice. There will be immediate, adequate, unshrinking prosecution, criminal and civil, to punish the guilty and to protect every National interest. In this effort there will be no politics and no partisanship. It will be speedy; it will be just. I am a Republican, but I cannot on that account shield any one because he is a Republican. I am a Republican, but I cannot on that account prosecute any one because he is a Democrat.

The President's programme was described as one "of National economy, of retrenchment in expenditures and reduction of taxation, of the unsparing enforcement of the law, with no immunities, no partiality, no sacrifice of public interest either to favor or to clamor." Mr. Hughes characterized Mr. Coolidge by saying: "In his serenity and determination he embodies the spirit of justice." And he ventured also the assertion. "The best assurance of the future is in the character of Calvin Coolidge."

What the Party Has Done

A FEW of the major, constructive things to the credit of the party in power as adduced by Mr. Hughes are: The success of the budget plan; the reduction of the public debt and the making it possible to reduce taxation (if Congress, we may add, can restrain itself from waste and extravagance); the effort at co-operation with other American republics; the results of the Washington Conference and its leadership toward peace in the world (for which we all know our Secretary of State is entitled to high praise); the establishing by treaties of the American Open Door policy; and the bringing about of American help and influence in foreign problems (of which the work of the Dawes Commission is the most notable example) without relinquishing American right of independent action and of non-commitment to others of the decision as to American policy. As to this last Mr. Hughes says:

> The American people cherish their independence. They were unwilling to

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enter into ambiguous commitments which in one breath were sought to be explained away as having little significance and in another were strenuously demanded as being of vital importance. They refused to assume by any form of words an obligation to take part in the never-ending conflicts of rival ambitions in Europe, but none the less they earnestly desire peace and seek in every way consistent with their traditions to promote it.

It remains for some Democratic "keynoter" to put beside Mr. Hughes's dignified statement an affirmative, not merely abusive, declaration of purpose, policy, and programme.

Keeping Congress in Its Place

Is Congress, at the end of a hundred and fifty years, undertaking to assert itself as the supreme power in a government where the powers of the three branches are supposed to be always co-ordinate?

The conflict with the President on two important points, the evident belief of Congress that it is not obliged to give heed to anything that the President says, the seeming willingness on the part of Congress to find new grounds of disagreement—all of these are weathervanes pointing in that direction.

The President has told Congress that in the investigation of Treasury affairs, particularly in the employment of Francis J. Heney, who was to be paid out of the personal pocket of a Senator, it is exceeding its power and encroaching upon that of the Executive. There was some vigorous talk as the result of this. Some Senators stanchly supported the President's position. Others talked of expunging the message from the record. And, after the talk, things went on pretty much as they would have gone in any event.

The President has told Congress that it ought not to embarrass the Government by writing a Japanese exclusion clause into the Immigration Law. In the face of that, both houses passed the Japanese exclusion measure by tremendous majorities, some of the most regular of regular Republicans being its most active proponents.

If there could be such a thing as a disinterested observer, he could hardly doubt that Congress is undertaking to make itself supreme.

There have been efforts of the kind before. In 1837 the House of Representatives appointed a select committee to investigate all of the executive departments. The President was requested and the heads of departments instructed to appear before the committee and give evidence, as President Jackson construed it, against themselves. He sent his secretary to the committee with a note to the effect that he would "repel all such attempts as a violation of the principles of justice as well as of the Constitution." That ended the investigation.

The fact that a practical dictator occupied the White House at that time put a quietus on Congressional ambition which has lasted for almost ninety years. President Coolidge, in the nature of things, cannot speak in quite the vigorous terms that President Jackson employed. A supreme executive power is no more to be desired than a supreme legislative power. But it is not seriously to be doubted that the sentiment of the country would be behind the President in making it entirely clear to Congress that this will continue to be a Government of co-ordinate powers.

Question Box

I

Pardon us, Mr. Congressman, if we intrude, but what about tax legislation?

II

How is the billboard scenery out your way this spring?

III

They're beauties! What fly did you take them on, and was it a barbless?

A War Against Ugliness

Quite recently we called attention to the renewed activity of those who deprecate the ugliness of that kind of billboard advertising which disfigures the landscape and displeases the traveler. We particularly commended the wisdom of the National Committee for Restriction of Outdoor Advertising in striving for the co-operation of big advertisers in this movement and recognized the Committee's success in obtaining agreement from many important advertisers to refuse to join in marring the scenery of the country.

The movement continues to gain ground, and the women who are now pushing the effort are daily increasing the number of allies among large advertisers (some of whom have been rather notorious sinners in this respect in the past) and have also enlisted the enthusiastic aid of other associations. Thus the example set some time ago by the Women's Civic Club of Glens Falls, New York, in making the famous Lake George Highway attractive and beautiful by the simple process of banishing ugly commercial appeals has been widely followed and interest has been aroused the country over.

The Committee has already secured the support of strong societies such as the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Highway Association, the American Civic Association, the National Academy of Design, and the American Federation of Arts. Not all of these, it is obvious, are purely feminine groups, but the women launched this movement, still bear the brunt of it, and deserve the bulk of the credit from a grateful and long-suffering Nation.

The managers of many large firms and corporations have recognized the fact that advertising which earns public ill will is defeating its own object. The opponents of the billboards have concentrated their efforts on driving home the truth that billboards improperly placed do arouse ill will toward the products thereon advertised. Thousands of letters of protest have been written to outdoor advertisers through billboard committees formed in numerous clubs.

Every American of good taste must sympathize with this effort to restore the original beauty of our scenery. The way to help is to awaken the interest of one's local club and have its Secretary communicate with the Secretary of the National Committee for Restriction of Outdoor Advertising, 512 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

World Radio for Everybody

Linking up the large centers of the world by a network of combined broadcasting and relaying stations so that the finest programmes available anywhere may be heard by the owners of even the small radio sets is the new plan explained by H. P. Davis, Vice-President of the Westinghouse Company, who developed the pioneer broadcasting station —Station KDKA of Pittsburgh.

Instead of broadcasting over five hundred separate programmes from as many American stations, as is being done at present, most of which cannot be "picked

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See any harm in his face?

(Measure for Measure, Act II, Scene 1)

Rogers in the Washington Post

Which suit will he put on?

From Mrs. C. P. Pflugradt, Esmont, Vá.

Evans in the Columbus (Ohio) Dispatch

HE'S GOT THE MONEY AND HE'S GOT TO DIG FOR IT, BUT HE'S GOT TO HAVE HIS HANDS FREE TO DO IT!
SHERIFF
GEN. DAWES
GERMANY'S HIDDEN WEALTH

Discovered

From G. F. Jackson, Lancaster, Ohio

Orr in the Chicago Tribune

Copyright, 1924, by the Chicago Tribune

Not finding fault with the fare

George W. Lyon, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Orr in the Chicago Tribune

Copyright, 1924, by the Chicago Tribune

Not spite work

From Mrs. A. W. Rogers, Kalamazoo, Mich.

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up" by the average listener situated more than a few hundred miles distant and many of which are too inferior to warrant listening to, the plan is gradually to reduce the number of programmes broadcast and concentrate on the best, and at the same time to make these premier programmes available to the owners of the simplest receiving sets. The practical advantages of this method of spreading the broadcasting out evenly are obvious.

In addition, and fully as important, are the technical advantages incidentally to be gained.

Using the Inaudible Wave-Length

OBVIOUSLY one method of linking up all of these relaying stations would be by means of telephone wires. This is being done to-day in many places. But a still better method has been found—the use of the short or inaudible wave-length.

There is nothing inherently inaudible about wave-lengths of less than one hundred meters. But nearly all radio sets are so designed that they cannot be tuned to wave-lengths below about 250 meters. Now if the relaying be done from broadcasting station to broadcasting station on a wave-length of about 100 meters, the relaying as such will not be picked up by the broadcast listener, but it will be picked up by the specially designed apparatus of the relaying stations. Simultaneously as it is being automatically received and "boosted" in strength for re-relaying it will be converted to audible wave-lengths of 250 to 600 meters and sent out from each relay station for "local consumption."

From the point of view of the radio engineer, there are two very special advantages of this system of transmission. One is that for some reason the short waves have great penetrative power. They cut through the ether when longer waves are weakened by weather conditions, and when during the hours of daylight the longer waves are greatly limited in their effectiveness by ionization of the upper layers of the atmosphere. The second advantage of relaying and local broadcasting is more subtle but even more important. It should do away very largely with the whistles, squeaks, and other extraneous noises caused by what is known as reradiation. Any regenerative receiving set is potentially a small transmitting set, and in inexperienced hands it usually does actually become one. When the regeneration is thus "forced," noises of this sort are transmitted continuously and become audible in the ears of all listeners within about a quarter of a mile. It is usually in seeking to bring in far-distant stations that people force the regeneration. Therefore it is argued that if the desirable programmes are given new life in their own immediate neighborhoods there will be less effort to bring them in from their first source. If you live in Richmond, Indiana, for instance, you may easily listen to a symphony concert in Boston via New York and Chicago, instead of trying to get it direct from Boston, and you will not be tempted to force your tube and annoy your neighbors, for you can pick up the programme without doing so.

At present programmes are being relayed from Pittsburgh to Hastings, Nebraska, and to London, England, on the inaudible wave-length, and rebroadcast from both of these points.

Wireless Transmission of Energy for National Defense

EVER since the development of wireless telegraphy scientists have been attracted by the conception of transmitting power for practical purposes through space without metal conductors.

One inventor, Nikola Tesla, has virtually spent his life in efforts of this sort. At the recent annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science a demonstration of the transmission of power through space without wires was successfully made. The distance was very small; but so was that of the first airplane flight made by the Wright brothers.

Given the discovery of a principle, its practical application on a large scale is chiefly a matter of persistent growth from a small beginning. We have had interesting and romantic stories by the writers of scientific fiction in which the transmission of various powerful forces to a distance by a "secret ray" figures. To-day no scientist would care to go on record as denying that, like the premature inventive fancies of Jules Verne, such a thing may become an actuality within a measurable period of time.

An Answer to the Attacking Airplane

UNDER cover of secrecy scientists of several nations have been seeking a way to cancel out the dreaded potentialities of the invading airplane.

Nations which have cut down on naval expenditure are spending heavily for immense swarms of airplanes. It is felt by many that the next war is to be fought largely in the air. The defense of navies against aerial attack is possible but difficult. Not only armies but whole cities and peoples are to be attacked and if possible destroyed, we are told. And the defense against invading hosts of winged attackers is inherently so difficult that war departments have been thrown into a state of uncertainty and frank worry. Now comes the announcement of the discovery of a method of transmitting energy in quantities sufficient to annul the action of the motors of airplanes or even to destroy the planes themselves through space without other conductors than a focused beam directed by human agency.

The inventor, Mr. H. Grindell-Matthews, is the same person to whom the British Government is said to have made a grant of $125,000 for the discovery of a method of distant control of a motor boat by means of a searchlight beam.

There is no fundamental reason why the same energy that may easily be focused and projected in the form of heat by means of a reflector or in the form of light by similar means may not appear in some other form or frequency of ether vibration and be projected by other means. The fact that press stories have been surrounded with many superadded and imagined conjectures on the part of irresponsible reporters should not confuse the reader nor cause him to scoff too quickly. The success of this invention would mean that one of the greatest menaces of the world's future peace, the invading airplane, had been at least temporarily countered.

One Week Well Invested

ONE becomes weary of a multiplicity of "weeks" dedicated to "causes" not too many of which are really significant or valuable. It is quite possible that Boys' Week is an exception. Beginning four years ago through the efforts of the New York Rotary Club's work for boys, this movement has spread to a remarkable degree. For instance, this year over 1,500 cities are making some special celebration, and the Governors of twenty States have issued proclamations calling upon cities to observe Boys' Week from April 27 to May 3. In many places there is a school holiday on May 1—"Boys' Loyalty Day"—so that boys may take part in patriotic demonstrations; an improvement on some more common May-Day performances. The idea has

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spread to Europe and South America. There will be at least one hundred places where Boys' Week will be celebrated in Canada.

There must be more than a mere sentimental appeal to account for so steady and strong a development. It is likely that behind it is a realization that we Americans have far too often failed in training Young America for citizenship. And it is because so many of us acknowledge this neglect and feel that something should be done that we have turned to this celebration with the hope that it may really come to make an impress upon our future citizens.

Though somewhat *blasé* and disillusioned adults may smile at such celebrations and at tremendous parades of youngsters, it is certain that to boys themselves such matters make a very strong appeal. The leaders of the movement hope that it will bring to the boys a feeling of civic responsibility, give them a practical view of our governmental machinery, make emphatic important rules affecting hygiene, encourage life out of doors, give boys a realization of their future importance to their country, and perhaps strongly counteract some of the most disruptive and degrading influences affecting the youth of America to-day.

President Coolidge expressed the thought tersely in the course of a brief address to a delegation of boys who asked for his approval of the "Week." Said he:

> The Government is paying for your education and is investing in you to keep its position as the leading nation in the world, thereby placing the responsibility on you to maintain that position in the world. It is up to you to repay the Government for these opportunities by working hard. America's retention of her position as the greatest nation in the world depends upon your present training and behavior. I wish you success!

Smuts Under Fire

For the third time since the Armistice, General Smuts has advised the dissolution of the Union Parliament in South Africa.

In June there is to be an election, and it is by no means certain that the South African Party (or "S. A. P."), which Smuts heads, will return its majority Outside his own country the prestige of Smuts as an international statesman is undiminished, but at home he has now to contend with the reaction which displaced Woodrow Wilson, Clemenceau, Lloyd George, and other leaders of the war. In South Africa, as in other countries, governments which have been long in office become stale and there arises a desire for a change. What, however, makes the situation more than usually serious is the fact that among the issues apparent in the crisis is the demand for an independent South African Republic. Smuts has stood stanchly for the British

Keystone

General Jan C. Smuts

connection, and if he is defeated it would be due largely to the efforts of the Nationalists, led by General Herzog, who talk of and, in many cases, sincerely yearn for secession from the Empire. Under the circumstances, it has been thought well to postpone a projected visit by the Prince of Wales.

The Separatists are drawn in the main from Boer farmers, who live a lonely life on "the illimitable veldt," there developing ultra-conservative views of religion and politics. After the war of twenty-five years ago, they acquiesced in British rule, but unwillingly, and in 1914 a rebellion among them had to be suppressed by General Botha. In Paris these Nationalists, like delegates from Egypt and Ireland, pleaded for independence and appealed to President Wilson's phrase, self-determination. Lloyd George held that the Union of South Africa, a compact of four colonies and two white races, could not be dissolved at the bidding of a minority. Herzog thus had no choice save to return to his people and tell them to capture the South African Parliament by constitutional methods. In March, 1920, the Nationalists actually won 43 seats to 40 seats held by Smuts, who had thus to depend for support on other groups.

Blacks and Burghers

This was a situation which Smuts declined to tolerate, and at a second election he appealed to the country on the express question whether South Africa was to leave the British Empire or not. The verdict seemed to be decisive. Smuts came back with a clear majority behind him.

There still remained the question whether Smuts was forever to retain office. While the Labor Party in South Africa is pro-British, it has never forgiven Smuts for calling in the soldiers to suppress the strike at Johannesburg. Led by Colonel Cresswell, therefore, who for a lifetime has opposed the mine owners, Labor has joined hands with Herzog—this on the understanding that Herzog postpones further talk about secession from Britain. Some would say, however, that Republican propaganda has gone on just the same.

An important factor is, of course, the color question. The Imperial Government regards it as essential that there shall be fair play for the blacks, and on India's account would have South Africa show a more hospitable spirit towards Asiatics; but every word said by the British Government on such subjects becomes ammunition against the British connection. On the other hand, South African opinion is not wholly irresponsible. Whatever be the talk among the rural "burghers," there is in the towns no doubt entertained as to the disturbing effect of a severance from London. Diplomatically, South Africa would be isolated. Racially, the handful of whites would be alone in their handling at once of the blacks and of the Asiatic immigrants. Under all these circumstances, it is, to say the least, unlikely that Herzog himself—with a Prime Minister to deal with so sympathetic as Ramsay MacDonald—would actually seek, if installed in office, to depart from British sovereignty. Some at least of his

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Nationalist principles would be added to "a forgettery."

The East and the West

A PROGRAMME for a comprehensive survey of the Oriental problem as it affects the United States and Canada was lately organized in San Francisco. The field of research will cover the whole Western American and Canadian coast from Mexico to Alaska. This, so far as the Oriental is concerned, is the racial frontier of North America. It is here that the Oriental not only finds his port of entry but settles. Here he establishes his human contacts with the Occidental, and out of those experiences, now extending over three-quarters of a century, a great body of fact, it is believed, can be secured which will make those relationships intelligible to the world.

The survey in question is noteworthy because it is concerned only with establishing facts. It has no argument to advance, and no theory to support. Its sponsors declare themselves indifferent as to what school of opinion may find support for its propaganda in the findings, or what firmly held tradition they may explode. For that reason varying opinions are reflected in the committee. Every aspect of life will be scanned in the communities affected. No time limit is set for the progress of the survey, but it is expected to take more than one year, and perhaps two years to complete.

The investigation is a co-operative effort by those interested in both East and West. The cost for the first year is expected to be about $55,000. To this the Institute of Social and Religious Research of New York is contributing $25,000, and the remainder is being raised on the Coast. The latter territory is divided into five regions: southern California, with headquarters at Los Angeles; northern California (San Francisco); Oregon, with headquarters at Portland; Washington, with offices at Seattle; and British Columbia, with headquarters at Vancouver. In each region there is a committee, with a regional director, who will assemble and collate local information for the benefit of the Central Committee and Director, who will be located at San Francisco.

The Director selected for the work is Dr. Robert Park, Professor of Sociology in the University of Chicago, and a well-known racial expert, whose studies of the immigrant press, the Negro, and other subjects are expressed in his works in the "Americanization Series" and other publications. The Central Committee is presided over by Dr. Wilbur, President of Stanford University, while from other universities in the regions named experts in the subjects to be reviewed are active members of the committees. The survey has the financial backing and co-operation of many of the most prominent men in the commercial life of the Pacific coast.

Marie Corelli

IN England, as in America, the opinions of the critics of books and the buyers of books often sharply disagree. No novelist has been more severely pummeled by English reviewers than Marie Corelli, but the sale of her most sensational stories, such as "The Sorrows of Satan" and "Ardath," has been enormous, and to this day they are prominent on London bookstalls. She had some things in common with the American author of "Beulah" and "St. Elmo," and especially a mystical pretense of deep knowledge of life, art, and philosophy which was readily accepted with wonder and admiration by those who knew even less than herself about such matters. It has been said in England that Miss Corelli (the name, by the way, is not a pen-name, as many suppose) had two classes of readers, royalties—notably Queen Victoria—and servant girls.

But no ridicule could daunt the earnest author. Critics might call her hectic, overwrought, and pretentious; she had her audience, and she held it. As one book of reference neatly puts it: "Secure in popular favor, she early came to regard with disdainful pity the severe literary criticism that cavalierly dismissed her from serious consideration."

Marie Corelli

It should be recorded that when this author left the company of her gorgeously artificial fictitious characters for that of actual life she had a warm sympathy for the sorrows of the common people. For instance, she more than once plunged into religious controversy—in an incoherent and excited way, to be sure, but with the evident intent of promoting simple piety as against ecclesiastical tyranny.

Miss Corelli died on April 21, in an ancient house in Stratford-on-Avon. She had long been ardently interested in Shakespearean lore and history and in all the efforts to preserve the great dramatist's memory through Stratford. The house in which she died is reputed to have been the home of Shakespeare's daughter Susanna, wife of Dr. John Hall.

Coolidge and the Japanese

THE passage of the Immigration Law will place a complex problem before President Coolidge. The proper solution of that problem will involve so many political factors that it will be almost humanly impossible for him to settle it upon the abstract merits of the case.

President Coolidge is not only President of the United States, but he is the titular head of the Republican party. He is also a candidate for re-election. The exclusion of immigrants ineligible for citizenship is therefore of deep concern to the President both in his position as the Executive Head of the Government dealing with foreign affairs and as the voice of his party.

There will be three choices before the President. He can veto the bill, he can approve it, he can permit it to become a law by Executive inaction.

Of these three choices the last would be the least profitable to him both as a politician and as an Executive. It would be interpreted as weakness by his political opponents and his political allies. It would not mitigate the Japanese alarm in any way, nor would it increase Japanese respect for the strength of our American position. It would be interpreted as lacking in courage both at home and abroad.

If the President should approve the law, he would gain political support in Congress and on the Coast. We say "on the Coast" because that has been re-

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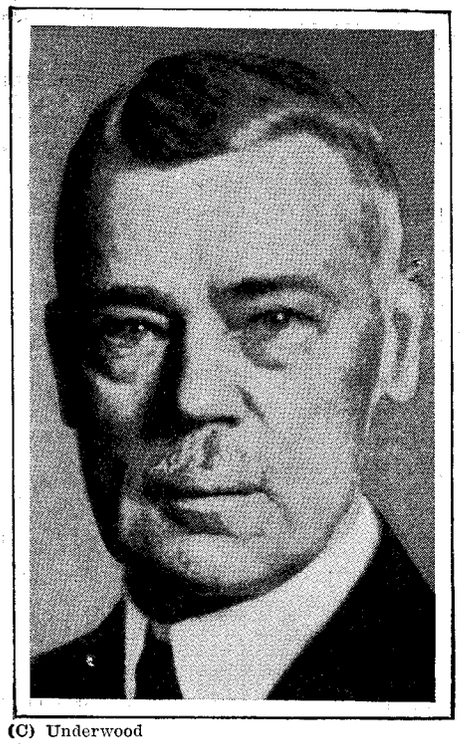


(C) Underwood

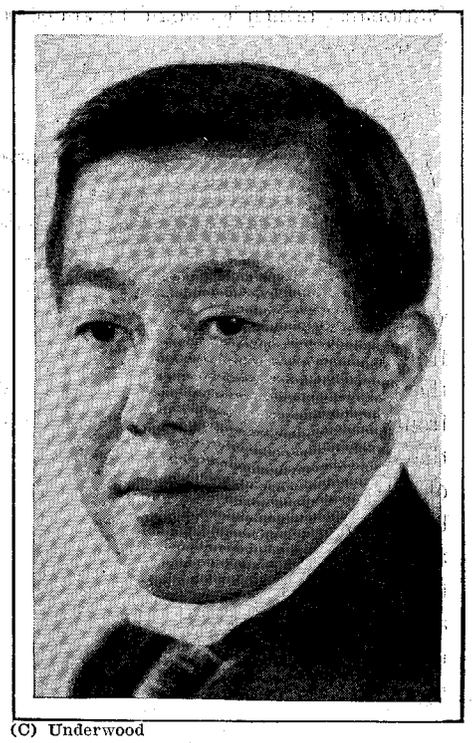
Cyrus E. Woods, the United States Ambassador to Japan

garded as the center of agitation against Oriental immigration. The Outlook's Poll of the People indicates, however, that the whole country is a unit in its desire to prevent any further complication of our racial problems. If the President should veto the bill, it would undoubtedly be repassed over his veto. He would thereby lose political support at home without in any way helping to solve the problem of Japanese resentment.

We said that there were three courses open to him. There is a possibility of a fourth. It involves a measure of leadership which the Nation would like to recognize in its Chief Executive.

In transmitting a veto of the Immigration Law the President, it is possible, might accompany his veto with a plan for the solution of the vexed problem of Oriental immigration which would carry conviction enough with Congress to win over at least one-third of the Senate to its support. Ambassador Hanihara's explanation of the phrase "grave consequences" has happily made it possible for Congress to reconsider the virtual abrogation of the "gentlemen's agreement." It is possible, therefore, that the President might be able to induce Congress to take into consideration the fact that the problem of Oriental immigration is somewhat larger than the immediate exclusion of immigrants from Japan. There is lodged at present with our Government a protest from China on this same question of exclusion. There is very great likelihood that a *rapprochement* between Japan and China may center about a common feeling of hostility to our American Immigration Law.

Without abating one jot or tittle from our stand that America must be the final judge of those whom it chooses to admit or reject, we might find that the co-operation of Japan and China would be of the utmost value in securing the end which we desire. The abrogation of the "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan will mean the destruction of the co-operation which Japan has given us in the past and may result in the necessity of establishing a patrol upon our southern borders to effect an object which could be more simply and amicably achieved by the friendly Japanese assistance—until that happy day when we abandon the system of artificial and arbitrary quotas and post our shores with the sign "Admission by Personal Invitation Only."



(C) Underwood

Masanao Hanihara, Japan's Ambassador to the United States

Dawes's Common-Sense Idealism

DAWES has proved to be a practical idealist. The plan of which he has been the chief designer has been virtually accepted on all sides. Whatever order emerges from the European chaos will be due to the ideals of this man whose training has been of the most practical nature as engineer, bank director, director of a packing-house, dealer in real estate, head of a gas company, Comptroller of the Treasury, president of a trust company, volunteer Major and Lieutenant-Colonel of engineers, Brigadier-General in charge of the purchasing of supplies for the American Expeditionary Forces, member of the Allied Purchasing Board, and Director of the Budget. There are plenty of people who think they have ideals when they have only thrills; it requires a man like General Charles G. Dawes to put the idea into ideal. Of course the report of the so-called Dawes Committee is not the product of General Dawes alone; but it is the product of work done under his direction. If any man deserves the name of idealist, it is General Dawes.

It is because this practical man did not draw up an imaginary scheme for an imaginary world of imaginary men, but rather plotted a course upon this earth for men as they are, that his plan has been accepted at once. Of course there were sounds of protest—mainly from those so-called intellectuals in America who are more German than the Germans; but even these sounds subsided when these self-styled intellectuals heard their master's voice giving the official notification of the German Government that the Dawes plan was accepted. It is possible that the Dawes plan was not made public until the Committee had received assurances of its acceptance from the Governments involved. The promptness with which the acceptances have been pronounced indicates something of the sort.

The Dawes report is the second great event in Europe since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles. The other great event was the occupation of the Ruhr. The one could not have happened without the other. If the French and Belgians were not in the Ruhr to-day, the Germans would never have accepted the Dawes report even if a Dawes report had been possible. There could be no way out of the trouble until there was a will to walk in the way. Germany's will had to be changed. Conferences (there have been ten of them since the Peace Treaty, we believe) failed to change it. Conciliatory approaches failed to change it. Concession after concession on the part of France failed to change it. Experience ought to have made it clear to all observers that Germany was in no mood to listen to anything but words of authority backed by force.

Mr. Hughes's proposal for a committee of experts which was made in December, 1922, was at that time imprac-

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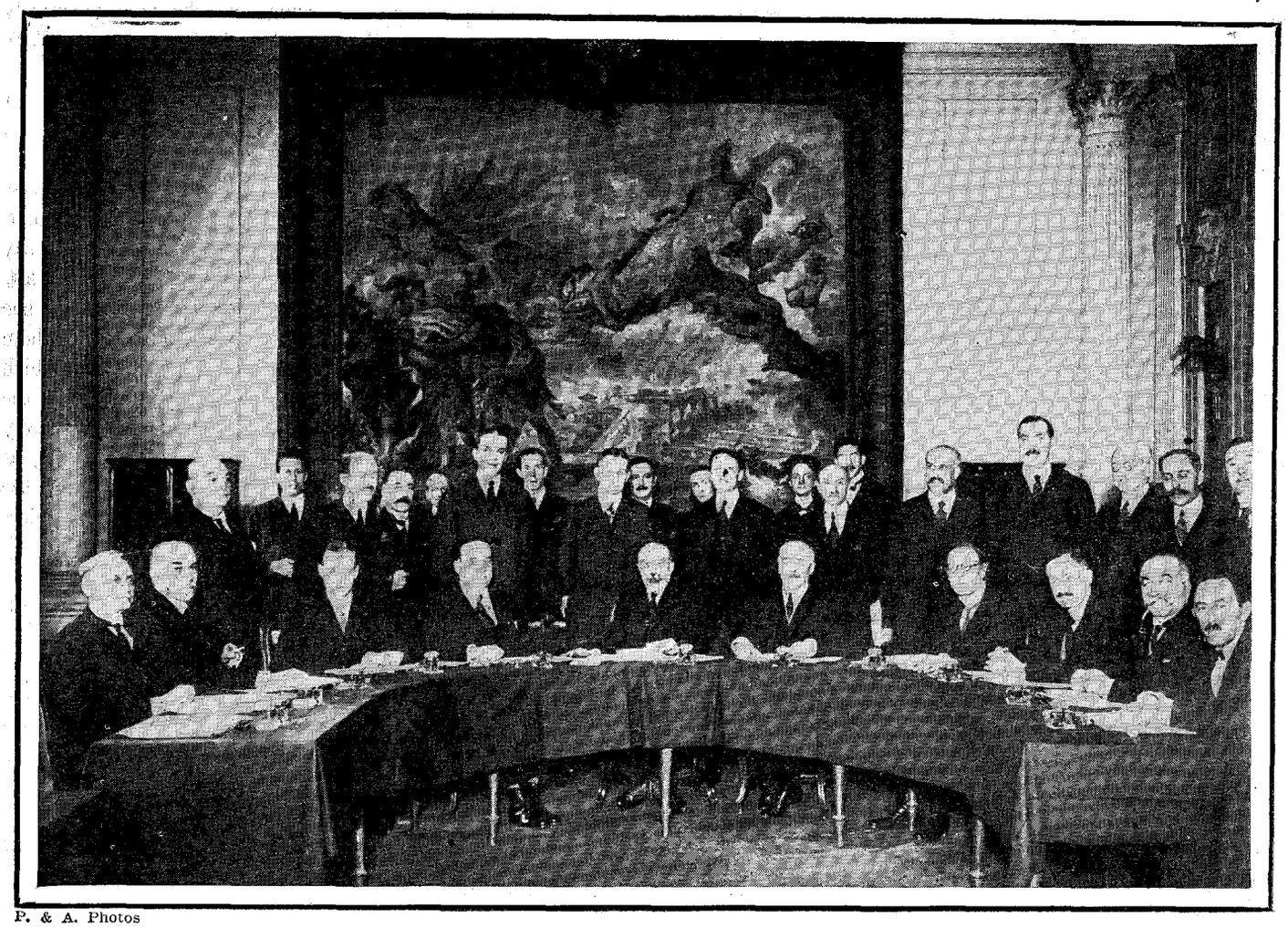

P. & A. Photos

The Reparation Commission receiving the Dawes Report. M. Barthou, President of the Commission, seated in center, General Dawes standing behind him to the left, and Owen D. Young, the tall man to the left of Dawes

ticable. Germany was still demanding that she be released from the obligations which she accepted under the Treaty. There was no possibility of an economic settlement until the political questions were settled. When France and Belgium with Italy's help went into the Ruhr, the first step was taken to make an economic inquiry possible. As we said at the time, the occupation of the Ruhr seemed to afford America her opportunity. Yet it took France somewhat more than a year to convince Germany that the payment of reparations would be of mutual advantage. It is only since the Germans stopped their very active "passive resistance" that America's opportunity has come.

General Dawes had the wisdom to build on that fact. At the very outset of his undertaking he described the occupation of the Ruhr as "that act of prospective common sense."

Those, therefore, who think of the Dawes plan as a substitute for the occupation of the Ruhr fail to understand the situation. It is not a substitute for the occupation; it is a superstructure built upon the occupation. Hereafter the Ruhr will be occupied, not by the French and Belgians alone as administrators of mines, plants, and railways, but by representatives of the Allied receivership who will act as auditors and inspectors (and, if necessary, sheriffs) watching and correcting (and, if necessary, replacing) the German administrators. It is unlikely that French and Belgian military forces will be withdrawn.

A year and a half ago such a proposal as that which General Dawes's Committee has made would not have been considered for a moment by England, and would have been rejected with tearful indignation by Germany. To-day it is not only accepted but has a fair chance of success. It is the Ruhr occupation that has made the Dawes report possible.

In an article in this issue Maximilian Harden describes, in terms that the severest critics of Germany would hesitate to employ, the callous and selfish extravagance of the German rich. He simply reports what is a matter of common observation in Europe to-day.

From Spain comes a letter to us in which the writer says: "We are so fed up with the disgusting sight of the Germans swilling money—excuse my pure Anglo-Saxonism—in Spain. What does the world at large think of it? And nothing for reparations!" And from Italy comes to us a letter describing the Germans who crowd the hotels of southern Italy and are beginning to crowd those of Rome and the north: "They are not satisfied with the usual menu, but order rare and expensive dishes and the most expensive wines and champagnes." And from Germany itself come reports of luxurious living. These are outward signs of the wealth which Germany is capable of producing and which the Dawes report has shown the world how to tap.

The tale of poverty in Germany has been inducing Americans to send alms to the Germans. When the Dawes plan is put into operation, there will be an end, we hope, to such indiscriminate charity. One of the features of the Dawes plan is a "prosperity index" by which the world will know about the growth of Germany's powers of production and capacity to pay what she owes and to support her own German-made poor.

Until this plan begins to operate it

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will be impossible to determine the total amount which Germany must pay. Those who have bewailed the fact that the Dawes report does not reduce the total already established and agreed to by Germany wholly, and most of them probably willfully, ignore the fact that the fixing of the total amount was outside of the purpose of the Committee, which was, not to estimate the total amount, but to put into operation a plan which would secure the greatest amount obtainable.

General Dawes has followed Emerson's formula for the idealist. He has hitched his wagon to a star. He has, however, remembered what most idealists seem to forget, that if you are going to hitch your wagon to a star it is necessary, not only to have a star, but also a practicable, well-built wagon.

The Art of Duse

THERE was nothing flamboyant about the art of Eleanora Duse. It burned with a quiet inward light, and like a candle it was consumed, leaving behind it the memory of a certain spiritual radiance. A great actress has just passed away, in a country not her own, but among a people who have always recognized the mystic beauty of her work and have always been ready to give generously, as they did the evening of her great ovation, October 29 last, when she began her fateful American tour. In contrast to the brilliance of that Metropolitan Opera House audience in New York is the loneliness of her death in Pittsburgh. But this contrast is typical of Duse's life; throughout it has been tragic, despite the fact that nations vied to do her honor and in Italy cities hailed her as their own.

No matter what vicissitudes Duse faced, her artistic faith never wavered, though often her faith in the art of the theater was broken. With her there was no playing for public favor; at all times she maintained a stand against theatricalism, while she saw Sarah Bernhardt acclaimed for just those things in art against which she made a determined stand. The pale gray of Duse's face, with the etching of time's lines upon it, was in strange contrast with the roseate youthfulness of Bernhardt's countenance, laid on with the deftness of the make-up artist. The restlessness of inward passion sounded in Duse's voice; in Bernhardt's, which made the most of set passages in Rostand's plays, rang the notes of romantic emotion. There was something stirring in the "divine Sarah," but it was not a pure emotion independent of externals. Bernhardt was theatrical; Duse was not. Bernhardt was an actress knowing the technic of external appeal. Duse was a creator whose technic was the perfection of an image.

With the breaking of one of the final

White Studio

Eleanora Duse

links which gave us a hold on a distinct era in acting, we may be tempted to discount some of the real Duse by pigeonholing her among the realists. But we are not likely for many a day to look upon such art again; for it was a beautiful expression that came from tragic experience, a ripened art which even her advancing years could not dim or make less vibrant. Her white hair, her frail body, the wraith of her beautiful hands which d'Annunzio wrote about in "La Gioconda," the voice that trembled with a certain weakness, as though weary of living—all these outward evidences of the aging woman were veiled beneath a cloak of creative beauty. She did not select for this final tour the plays of her earlier triumph, like "Camille" or "Magda" or "Mrs. Tanqueray." We recall Bernhardt, like a wounded soldier, playing the death scene of "Camille," with all the accessories of theatricalism to hide her crumbling body. She stirred one, but it was a trick that did it. Such an attempt was abhorrent to Eleanora Duse; she selected just those rôles which would have the least exaction on her physical being; but she gave generously of the inward part of her. Her gesture had the same rightness as in years gone by, her voice the same vibrancy, her walk the unerring index of an inward state. One did not look for accessories in Duse; when she came on the stage, there was something penetrating about her, nothing electric. We do not say that she abhorred the technic of her art. No one knew better than she what she was doing; art would not be art if there were not divine tricks about it which showed the surety of the artist. But the greatness of the actor's art is not merely dependent on a picturesque quality, as marked so much of the acting of the past. It is measured by the truthfulness of the conception and the simplicity by which that conception is kept right at every moment. At every moment Duse impressed one as being right in her art.

But, as some one has already suggested, there being nothing flamboyant about this actress, the memory of her may soon become gray in theatrical records. "Are we so soon forgot when we are gone?" She abhorred publicity. One recalls the d'Annunzio days, when artist and poet were intimate, when "La Citta Morta" and "Francesca da Rimini" claimed his pen and her art. Duse told d'Annunzio about her early life, and he made use of it, against her will, in a book of his. Estrangement followed, and the actress retired. Now and again some poignant remark about the theater would be made by her, but "La Duse," until 1921, was virtually in retreat. Then came the necessity of a livelihood, and it was this necessity which brought her to America last fall. One hears the voices of Shaw, Gordon Craig, Stanislavsky, and Walkeley in her praise, deploring that language has no other way of expressing "La Duse" than the word "spirit." Acting is an evanescent art; that is why the theater needs the creative critic more than any other form of expression to perpetuate it. It is by such writing that the actor may hope to live for future generations. We have never heard of Duse's being filmed, as Bernhardt was. Her art was not the camera kind. And so we will fall back on what her contemporaries thought of her. And we shall find, as with Shaw, that she always—and we noticed it particularly in Ibsen's "The Lady from the Sea" and "Ghosts"—produced "the illusion of being infinite in variety of beautiful pose

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and motion." The artistic world is the poorer through the loss of such an artist.

Bobbed-Hair Bandit and the Millennium

A PROCESSION of cars journeyed up Fifth Avenue in New York City, and each one bore a placard to the following effect:

WE HAVE OUTLAWED WAR BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS, WHY NOT BETWEEN NATIONS?

On a near-by street corner a newsboy was peddling papers bearing the glaring headlines:

BOBBED-HAIR BANDIT CAUGHT WITH HUSBAND IN FLORIDA

Possibly at first glance there may seem to be little connection between these two occurrences. On second glance the evidence may show something that is quite different.

The young lady known as the "bobbed-hair bandit" has been carrying dismay to the Police Department of New York City for a number of weeks. She has been raiding stores and offices, holding up their inmates at the point of the pistol, and thereafter departing with such money as she and her companion could obtain. She has interspersed her periods of robbery with acts which were not at all in accord with the etiquette of burglars as laid down by Sir William Gilbert. In fact, she has been unkind enough to write a series of letters to the New York Police Department attacking it severely for its stupidity and its inability to capture her.

This young lady was conducting a private war not only upon the individuals whom she attacked but also upon society as a whole. Unlike some of her confrères in crime, she at last found the odds too heavy and was forced by the distressing circumstances in which she found herself to throw up her hands and surrender.

It is quite obvious that the war in which she indulged has been outlawed by society, for its whole weight is thrown against the evasion of the laws to prevent burglary and murder. In other words, the odds against her were, in round figures, something like one hundred million to one.

Let us go back to the appeal to outlaw war. What are the odds in favor of the enforcement of a legal ban upon war? It is obvious at once that the odds are very much lower than they were against the bandit of the bobbed hair. In fact, when the attacking nation is large and the attacked small, as in the case of Germany and Belgium, the odds are all in favor of the predatory Power. Only by a war which involved the whole world were the demands of society made evident to Germany, and even now, five years after the close of the war, the penalty for breaking the peace has not yet been enforced.

It took the United States three years to make up its mind to join the *posse comitatus*. Not only is the attempt to outlaw war a futile thing, but it is also dangerous, for it leads nations to rely upon paper guaranties, which melt away in time of stress like April snow before a spring flood.

Wars spring from conflicting aims and conflicting purposes and conflicting aspirations. They cannot be controlled by laws prohibiting their occurrence, but only by the adjustment of these aims, purposes, and aspirations through an enlightened understanding of the real interests of peoples and nations.

Doubtless we shall receive a number of letters pointing out that The Outlook is utterly mistaken in its philosophy and that its editors are a pack of bloodthirsty jingoes, and yet we shall stoutly maintain that the tale of the bobbed-hair bandit has in it an interesting lesson for those who would outlaw war.

Mass Production versus Artistry

By LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT

Contributing Editor of The Outlook

A GREAT deal is heard nowadays of mass production in industry. The idea seems to be to build an enormous plant, to create a great organization of workers, to substitute machines for manual skill, to standardize patterns, to employ night and day shifts, and thus to turn out the commodity in vast quantities, each example of the product being mathematically like every other example to the thousandth of an inch.

This is the way Mr. Ford has made his remarkable "flivvers." Any one who has seen his magical factory at Detroit, with its long moving platform, at one end of which are placed a couple of steel bars and at the other end of which completed automobiles are jumping off like grasshoppers at the rate of one every three or four minutes, cannot fail to be profoundly impressed with the extraordinary achievements of the doctrine of mass production. But when Mr. Ford wishes to give an automobile individuality and distinction this is not the way he does it. He has another factory in which he is making a car of beautiful quality fashioned by the most painstaking individual skill and artistry.

I do not mean to decry mass production. It serves its purpose, and a very good and useful purpose. The rotogravure supplements which embellish our daily newspapers have a certain kind of beauty, but they are the "flivvers" of art. On the other hand, a fine landscape or a striking portrait in oils must be painted little by little. The painter must step back from his canvas occasionally and contemplate it and wonder if a dash of color here or a few brush strokes there will not improve it.

Is there not some danger that mass production may crowd out artistry in American education? Are we not trying to standardize our text-books, to standardize our examinations, to build great institutions with molds into which the students are first compressed and then turned out stamped with the same pattern? If what we want is a generation of intellectual "flivvers" all of whom shall run the same number of miles on the same number of gallons of mental fluid, this is certainly the way to do it. But, just as certainly, it is not the way to produce individuality of thinking or distinction and beauty of character.

Bigness is not an essential element of goodness; a black Hamburg grape grown under the careful personal ministrations of a devoted gardener is a sweeter fruit than the biggest watermelon cultivated by methods of mass production. Some of our universities have discovered that mass production in education has its defects and are trying to counteract its dangers by reducing the number of their students. Princeton some years ago, realizing that Oxford and Cambridge with their small colleges and the fructifying influence of the personal tutor upon the little group of students committed to his charge, introduced the tutorial or seminar system. Nevertheless the notion that bigness is a desirable thing in edu-

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cation crops up every now and then. Only the other day the newspapers announced that somebody in Ohio had conceived the glorious idea of organizing a university with sixty thousand students, the biggest, and therefore presumably the best, thing of its kind in the history of education.

Far be it from me to belittle the value in education of highly organized faculties, splendid laboratories, and great libraries containing rare books and MSS. A first folio of Shakespeare or a priceless Oriental papyrus radiates a kind of literary glory. But do not let us forget the immeasurable influence which has been exercised upon American life and character by men who were educated in colleges with limited libraries and ill-equipped laboratories or no laboratories at all. John Marshall, whose impress upon public law was greater, perhaps, than that of even Blackstone or Littleton, attended for a few months the lectures of the great Chancellor Wythe at William and Mary College, the equipment of which would make a modern New York high school principal laugh if he could see it. Dartmouth produced Webster, and Bowdoin Longfellow and Hawthorne, when they had buildings and appliances at which a Groton or Lawrenceville boy would turn up his nose. And Harvard produced Emerson and James Russell Lowell when ten thousand dollars for additions to her library would have been a godsend. It is pleasant to find, even in these days of mass production, little institutions of which the public scarcely ever hears that with limited means are doing telling work in real education. One such is the University of the South, at Sewanee, Tennessee, to which I had the really great pleasure of making a flying visit a week or so ago.

Sewanee has a romantic history. A group of Episcopal clergymen of the South, mostly bishops, conceived the idea of this University, and picked out as its site an uninhabited spot in the forests on the Cumberland Plateau two thousand feet above the level of the sea and about fifty miles northwest of Chattanooga. Its corner-stone was laid hardly six months before the outbreak of the Civil War by Bishop Leonidas Polk, of Louisiana. Bishop Polk, who was educated at West Point, resigned from the Army and became a clergyman, but when the Southern States seceded took up arms again and was made a major-general in the Confederate forces and was finally killed in action at Pine Mountain. The infant University was destroyed by invading Federal forces during the Civil War. But in 1865 it was resuscitated, some distinguished Confederate generals becoming professors—General Josiah Gorgas, for example, and General Kirby Smith. The son of the former, educated at the struggling college which his father was helping to conduct, became the great sanitarian, Surgeon-General Gorgas, hygienically the savior of the Panama Canal; and the son of the latter is now the medical director of the well-appointed hospital which the University maintains for the benefit of the entire surrounding community.

The University is small, enrolling scarcely 350 students, I believe. But it has an influence, especially in the South, and in the field of letters and liberal culture, totally disproportionate to its size. Some of its graduates have made their mark in National affairs. I have already spoken of Surgeon-General Gorgas, who achieved an international reputation and received honors from universities and scientific societies all over the world. Among the distinguished graduates of Sewanee it is interesting to find the names of Major "Archie" Butt, who was the military aide of President Roosevelt and President Taft at the White House, and whose heroic death on the ill-fated Titanic gave him a well-deserved place on the honor roll of courageous Americans; Admiral Grayson, who was the devoted friend and personal physician of President Wilson; Bishop William T. Manning, of New York; and last, but perhaps not least, the Rev. William N. Guthrie, of St. Mark's Church, New York City, who thinks that Greek dancing should be made a part of the services of the Episcopal Church, and who has thereby fallen into some difficulty with his ecclesiastical superior and former collegemate, Bishop Manning. I was amused to learn, by the way, at Sewanee that when the Bishop and the recalcitrant rector were undergraduates together they used often to be on opposite sides of controversial questions, and their intellectual "scrapping" was a source of joy to all beholders.

The University of the South has an atmosphere which is all its own. Its graduates and friends refer to this atmosphere as "the Sewanee spirit." This is produced, perhaps, partly by its situation. It stands by itself on a mountaintop; it commands a view over one of the most beautiful valleys of the South; its grounds are laid out on a landscape plan which, when completed, will give it distinctive charm; it already possesses several buildings of carefully finished construction in native stone that are admirable examples of academic architecture; its chapel, designed by the famous ecclesiastical architects Messrs. Cram and Goodhue, has about and within it a suggestion of Oxford and Cambridge. Last February, with appropriate ceremonies, there was inserted on one of the interior walls of this chapel a bit of stone carving from the ancient chapel of Henry VII in Westminster Abbey which was presented, through the good offices of Dr. George Herbert Clarke, head of the English Department at Sewanee, by the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey. Under the carving is a tablet on which are inscribed these words of the Dean of Westminster: "Expressing the hope that this stone may for all generations be a witness of kinship in blood and a pledge of unity in affection."

Not one of the least interesting things at Sewanee is the University Press, a small building with very modest typographical and mechanical appliances, where, however, the director, practiced in the art and trade of typography, produces some specimens of his art which would excite the admiration of the members of the Grolier Club. There I saw the title-page of a book by a former member of the Faculty which, because of its beautiful composition in Caslon type, I should like to have framed and hanging on the wall of my den as a reminder that there are American trades in which mass production has not yet wholly obliterated individual artistry. In this little building there is set, printed, and manufactured "The Sewanee Review," a quarterly edited by Professor George Herbert Clarke. The current number I read almost from cover to cover during the long railway journey back from Chattanooga to New York, and found it quite as interesting as the current number of the "Atlantic Monthly." What more can an editor say!

I do not wish to ignore the splendid work which the great universities of America are doing both in teaching and in research, but I hope it will be a long time before the "spirit of Sewanee"—that is to say, the artistry of individual training, in surroundings of natural and architectural beauty and in contact with men of fine tastes, liberal culture, and high character—is overwhelmed by mass production and thus lost to American education.

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The Case of the People vs. Politics

An Interview with

U. S. Senator George Wharton Pepper

By STANLEY FROST

I CAUGHT Senator Pepper at a trying time. He had recently returned from delivering the speech in Maine in which he had frankly admitted mistakes and blunders in the Republican Administration. Daugherty and other old-line Republicans had attacked him in the press, and Democrats had gloated on the Senate floor. He had been reminded sharply how low a value contemporary politicians put on honesty and fairness. He was unshaken, but he was roused.

"It has got to be done," he exclaimed. "There have been blunders and mistakes, and we had better admit it. We can't get anywhere without honesty with this party in this campaign. We can't play the old, close-to-your-belt game of claiming a hundred per cent of everything. The people know it isn't so, and we'd only discredit ourselves some more, when restored credit is the thing we've got to have."

The discerning reader will observe at once that Senator Pepper is not a politician in the usual sense. Such doctrines are anathema to politicians; heresy, treason, and folly combined. "A babe in arms at this game," was the way he was first described to me, and from the point of view of the hard-boiled manipulator who made the remark it is quite true. The Senator is new to politics; he has never "been through the mill," he does not know how to dispense pettifog and flapdoodle, he has never learned to move crabwise—if at all!—nor to believe that the science of politics lies in fooling all the people you can as long as you can. Wherefore he is no politician.

In fact, he could not be. He has spent nearly thirty years in a law practice where success depended on having the goods and using them effectively, fooling no one. It has not been a "corporation practice," by the way, and he is one of the few lawyers who have made reputation and money without serving "big business." His most successful case was in attacking the Standard Oil and recovering millions from H. H. Rogers and J. Edward Addicks for the Bay State Gas Company. He was counsel against Ballinger, is counsel for the National Baseball League, has been a professor of law. So he has acquired the kind of mind which puts its trust in careful thought, based on all the information available, instead of on oratorical buncombe or emotional suds.

An instance of the working and the effect of his mind was recently given in the case of some of the men imprisoned for sedition during the war. Agitation to get them out has been noisy and constant. Roger Baldwin and his friends wept publicly for years over the invasion of free speech and personal liberty. They got nowhere. Senator Borah took the matter up and argued that their imprisonment was unconstitutional. He got nowhere. Senator Pepper was finally called on. He promised to look into it. For the first time in all the hullabaloo he used the evidence! He separated the wheat from the chaff, the war hysteria from the crime, and got facts. With these he wrote a forty-page memorandum for the President, who was led to investigate and presently pardoned the men.

Rara Avis

THIS type of mind is rare in politics, and is becoming rarer as the art of organization improves and ward heelers and local bosses are more and more promoted to the top. Quite naturally, since they do not understand it, they view such a mind with distrust and alarm, which is increased because it is proving so disconcertingly effective. For, though he has been in the Senate only a bit over two years, Mr. Pepper is already recognized as one of its leaders. This is remarkable, even though the days have gone when tradition kept new men powerless for years, and allowed stuffed shirts to snub such proved men as Root and Knox, Underwood and John Sharp Williams. The Senate still values seniority far above brains, and, if it can help it, will not let a new member be noticed or have influence.

Moreover, in spite of newness and political babyhood, Senator Pepper is more and more being considered the spokesman and public defender of the President. He denies flatly that this is so. But when most Republicans were sitting dumb or replying flabbily to attacks on the Administration Mr. Pepper took the floor. There is no question that he is in frequent consultation with the President, nor that his advice is often taken. So, even though he is not entitled to any reflected glory, the fact of his fast-growing leadership cannot be disputed.

Because of his habit of sincerity, which would have been a handicap until recently, and still seems so to most politicians, the reasons for this leadership deserve some study. Perhaps they cannot be determined precisely, but certainly one of them is the changing attitude of the public toward politics. There is a growing belief here in Washington, among outside observers more than among politicians, that the old bluffing, buncoing, close-corporation type of politics is in its last days. If this is true, if the time has come when the public would rather have facts than fluff, and reason than resentment, then Senator Pepper's type of mind springs into natural leadership.

It may not be true. There is no doubt that the proportion of voters who want sincerity is increasing, but they may still be too few to win. It may be that the old rules are still sound; that a political platform is useful only for the enticement of voters, that intelligent people, seeing through it, will nevertheless support the party for reasons of their own; that there are so few intelligent folk that success can be won by the party offering the best blue-sky prospectus. For this reason the future career of Mr. Pepper will to a great extent measure the change in the intelligence America applies to its politics.

There are many signs that the time for such a change is at hand. The basis for political success makes rather sudden shifts, though at long intervals, and only after some considerable popular revolt against old methods forces politicians to new ones. For a long time, for example, democratic institutions—this was in England, of course—functioned through fear and reprisal, and a beaten politician died suddenly. This was finally stopped, and Walpole, Pitt, and their successors governed by means of corruption of the legislators. We had such a period in this country when Senators and Representatives were more or less openly for sale to

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Wide World Photos

Senator Pepper and Mrs. Pepper

big interests, and the heritage of that time breaks out even yet. But it, too, is mostly over, and we have been in a period of rule by machines which were themselves—though less impudently—for sale. They have kept power through organization, supplemented by careful misleading and vitiation of opinion, recently reduced to the science of propaganda.

Now there is revolt against this. The next step in political morality will naturally be toward destroying these two methods of exploiting democracy, and of the two by far the more deadly is the debasing and corrupting of opinion. Senator Pepper, above all others, has become the leader in fighting this evil, though Senator Bruce, on the Democratic side, is taking a similar if less active stand. This is not, I believe, so much due to any nice calculation on Senator Pepper's part as because of the nature of the man. He happens to be honest; not merely financially, but mentally and in every other way.

The Place of Danger

His is a dangerous leadership, for if the public mind has not ripened so much as some of us hope he will suffer the fate of other men who have seen visions but have spoken before their time. But his leadership and the success it has had so far are among the most encouraging developments of the present crisis. The principles on which it works may quite likely forecast the next progress in political art and ethics.

Their fundamental assumption, obviously, is that there really is a widespread and justified public distrust of the Federal Administration, of both political parties, and of the politicians who control all three. I asked the Senator what he believed to be the reasons for this, apart from the temporary excitement of the scandals. I suppose I rather expected a blast against corruption and chicanery, for the question gave this opportunity. But he proved again that he is no politician. He stuck to facts.

"There seem to be two chief causes," he said, slowly. "The first justifies criticism, though not distrust. It is that the Government is inefficient; very inefficient as compared to any private business. It cannot be otherwise with our present system. It is too big, too poorly organized, and particularly it lacks the loyalty and morale which a successful executive must instill into a private business.

"The secret of good executive work is to delegate authority and to instill loyalty and teach method so that each subordinate, in his own place, will really be in a way a part of the chief himself. That can't be done here. A man can't pick his subordinates to suit himself; he cannot train them, and except in very rare instances their loyalty is not to him, but to a party, or to some other man, or to some outside interest. Often it is even against their superior. Often enough it is to nobody but themselves and to nothing but holding their jobs. In such circumstances, work cannot possibly be well done."

The Problem of Loyalty

I REPEATED a recent story of a politician who had urged the appointment to a rather high place of a man who was obviously a poor executive. The politician admitted this. "But he's the man needed now," he explained. "That office is full of Democrats who are doing their best to make a poor showing and hurt the Administration. This man will get them out. Then we can get one who'll run the office right."

"Yes, that is fairly typical," the Senator conceded. "It is partly justified, too. The first thing in any office is to get loyalty. There is more than mere place-grabbing in the constant attempt to have the offices filled with people who will be loyal to the party in power."

"Haven't the politicians kept it that way?" I asked. "Wouldn't they rather have an excuse for place-grabbing? And wouldn't they rather have an inefficient Administration, which will always be more or less at their mercy?"

He seemed doubtful about that. "Possibly, in some cases," he admitted after a bit. "But more likely it has just grown up that way."

"Isn't it at least the fault of politicians that this hasn't been corrected?" I persisted.

"Well, you can't get much enthusiasm for more efficient government," he smiled. "People are not much interested in it. It isn't dramatic. There's been no political profit in it. And it is not an easy job, anyway. The Civil Service is the best solution we have found, and it is an attempt to solve just this problem. At least it gives us subordinates who are not hostile, even if they are not

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loyal. The Budget is a move toward a solution, too. But on the whole the problem remains. Once in a while we find a leader like Roosevelt who manages to inspire the key men all down the line, but—well, men like Roosevelt come only once in a generation. It is one of the big jobs for constructive statesmanship."

"You mentioned a second reason for distrust?" I suggested.

"Yes. It is that men here are under observation all the time. Every least thing they do can be seen, misunderstood, misinterpreted, and misrepresented. I am not referring now to needed criticism, of course. Every one makes mistakes, and should be checked on them, though in every other business a man is allowed a certain number of mistakes without losing his place or his reputation.

"Not here. Here every man is in the limelight, or can be put there at any minute. He can't 'get away' with anything, not even the most honest error in judgment. It is made worse because the higher officials cannot possibly know even a small part of what goes on under them. Secretary Mellon, for instance, has 65,000 subordinates, and he's held responsible for every one of them whenever any one wants to make trouble.

"There are always men whose business it is to make trouble, and do it easily because of the limelight. Behind all the criticism is the self-interest of the men who are making it. It is not as if they had to prove their cases. All they have to do is to spring them on the public. If they can get them across, their purpose is accomplished. They can, and naturally will, impute false motives, fan unjust suspicions, make every action seem as bad as they can.

"The result is to intensify the condition I mentioned before. In such a situation the whole service is undermined. You can't get loyalty. You can't even get action. When we have one of these orgies of investigation, the whole Government is paralyzed. No one knows at what moment his most innocent action will be attacked and made to look bad. His only safety is in doing nothing; for weeks now every official has spent his time passing the buck from himself to some one else, and finding excuses for delaying decisions.

"Conditions and attacks like this have done more to undermine confidence than anything else. They make the Government worse than it needs to be, and they make it appear much worse than it is. Either party by making such an attack may succeed in gaining a temporary advantage, but the total effect of this warfare over a long period is now seen. It has made people lose faith—and without sufficient cause."

"Then it has been just politics?" I suggested.

"Yes. Just politics. For the sake of a little gain here and there politicians have befouled their whole profession and themselves. Don't think I'm talking about exposure of real wrong-doing, whether corruption or just inefficiency," he hastened to add. "That ought to be exposed, no matter how much it destroys confidence. But there is comparatively little of that, and the damage has been done mostly by exposures of things that can merely be made to look bad. In the game they have been playing these politicians have shot at one another, and hit also themselves and the country."

Week by week

Stanley Frost

is telling the story of political developments at the National Capitol. His correspondence cannot be ignored by those who are looking for authoritative interpretations of one of the most complex political situations of recent years.

"And what has destroyed the faith in the politicians?"

"Obviously, a growing understanding that they have been running this kind of a government and playing this kind of politics," he answered. "Then, because they have been under this kind of attack. Each side has accused the other, not for having different opinions or even unsound ones, but on the charge of being corrupt in those opinions. They have said this of each other so often and so violently that the people now believe them both.

"Another cause of distrust is that politicians and parties have made so many promises that they couldn't keep; sometimes that they didn't intend to keep. Many of them have been made in honest ignorance, and their authors, when elected, have either found that it was impossible to carry them out or have learned that it would be folly. Often, too, they have done what they promised, but the effect was not what they promised. The surtax, some of the unwise attacks on business (there must be strict regulation of business, of course, but it should not destroy prosperity along with crime, as some laws have done), and some attempts at farm and labor relief are in this class. They fail, and cause more distrust.

"Finally, there are the shameless promises made for campaign purposes. They have come to be a stock joke, but they are no joke. They have been deliberate attempts to fool the public. They are still going on. They do infinite harm.

"All these broken promises make it seem that the politicians and parties have lied. Each side tells the people that this is true of the other. As with the charges of corruption, both get to be believed. So political honesty has become a byword.

"The same thing runs through all other political action. Each party accuses the other of running the Government in the interests of certain classes, especially in the interests of 'money.' Each accuses the other of putting over 'jokers' in legislation. Each charges the other with spending Government funds for purely political purposes; we have got so there is hardly an important measure that is not branded by the beaten side as a 'bid for votes,' and it is the habit to deny any patriotism or decent motives in either party or any public men.

"There is much truth, of course, in all these accusations. Often they have been true enough to deserve every disgrace. But even more often they are not true at all. They are easy to put over, however. Any man who has not succeeded well is glad of an excuse for himself, and ready to take the politician's word that the Government has cheated him. It is not hard to convince many people that wealth or any other success which is beyond their abilities is criminal and that the Government is to blame for allowing it. Such men also cannot see that many measures which will aid the whole country indirectly must aid some classes directly. Sometimes it is industry that must be aided, just now it is the farmers, sometimes others. But in each case classes whose benefit is only indirect are very likely to feel that they have been injured.

"All this makes good material, not only for party wars, but especially for demagogues. It is far easier to stir emotions than to appeal to reason, so the demagogues have exploited both the real and the fanciful wrongs. Now they are getting caught in their own net, for they cannot do the things they promised, and the people whom they taught to suspect every one, quite naturally suspect them too.

"Incidentally, wild charges have been made so often, and have so often been proved untrue, that the time has come

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when it is harder than ever to get attention to real wrongs. There is very seldom now any attack or exposure or complaint that a man can make that will not be charged to politics and heavily discounted. People believe almost any evil thing in general, but can hardly be aroused to deal with any evil in particular."

"How would you go about it to remove the distrust and restore confidence?" I asked.

"Be trustworthy," he smiled. "That is a slow and tiresome thing," he went on after a pause. "In the Government it means hard and careful work, beginning with improvement in the administrative evils I spoke of. But it is hard to get any interest in that; it would have to be dramatized to arouse public interest, and reforms would meet direct opposition as well as inertia. Their value would appear only in the long run, in re-established confidence. They might never have any value for any party.

"Another thing must be more care in selection of public servants. It is time to apply the rule of Cæsar's wife, and this means a change in the minds of the people as well as in the politicians. The officials must feel a greater responsibility to the country, must develop a loyalty to public service, and the people must insist that their loyalty shall be to the Nation as a whole, instead of giving support to men who make a parade of loyalty to some particular group or leader, as is now often the case.

People Want Change

"I KNOW all this sounds rather trite," he interrupted himself. "But it happens to be true. Politics can't rise much above the level of what the public demands, and usually will fall below. The reason there is a chance for improvement now is that the public is disgusted with the old methods and is demanding something better."

"What should the Republican party do about it?" was the next question.

"In the first place, it must do something to show a definite spirit that is worthy of trust, not merely talk," he replied. "It must give evidences of public spirit. The passage of the Child Labor Amendment would be such a proof. It would appeal to an immense number of people. It would show that the party is not committed to business, right or wrong. These are political reasons—there is no need to argue the reasons of morality, humanity, and public policy just now. You know them.

"Another thing is to establish a definite and forward-looking foreign policy. The party has had none, except opposition. It has won that opposition, but has put nothing in its place. America wants disarmament, international peace and good will, friendliness everywhere. The party must have a policy that will work toward those things. There is now no use in discussing the League or even the World Court in the old form. We must find something on which the people can unite.

"Then there must be no more humbug or bluff. Where we have failed we had better admit it. The people know it, anyway, and denying it fools no one."

"Would you have the party go further than to admit failure in specific cases?" I interjected.

"No. There is no reason why the Republican party should admit faults, however real, which can just as fairly be charged against the other party and against politics as a whole. When there has been a definite failure, that we must admit. But the party has no reason to confess a universal fault as if it were a private sin of its own.

"We must take particular care with our platform, though. There must be in it nothing that is not sincere and real. No 'bunk,' no false issues, no 'vote-catchers.' We must use only real issues, and if they are hard to understand we must undertake the tedious work of educating the people, instead of trying to hornswoggle them. I am sure that enough people have intelligence enough so that the only ones who need to fear real issues are those who are on the wrong side."

"I suppose this includes the idea that every issue must be for the benefit of the whole country?"

"That would take care of itself, wouldn't it?" he replied. "If issues are going to be real, they must be able to stand scrutiny.

"Finally, there is something that will hardly show for a while, but that is really the most necessary of all if the party is to regain and keep public confidence. That is a shifting of the whole idea of party purpose from success to service. Men have been given power merely because they could deliver votes. We must choose them more and more because they can deliver confidence; for, in America, confidence is the best vote getter. We must make decent public service a matter of loyalty to the party, and punish any failure in it as sharply as we have been in the habit of punishing a betrayal of the party. That is the only way in which we can really grapple with the great problem of inefficient government.

"This is not a thing that can be done with a few high-sounding words. It will be slow to do, and slower still to prove that we have done it. But it must be done, for until it is, the only claim we have to support will be that we are not quite so bad as our opponents."

"That seems a pretty big order," I remarked when he showed that he was through. "How would you sum it up? It is generally recognized that the great need of America to-day is leadership. What would you say was the form that leadership should take in the political field?"

The Senator whistled. He got his pipe going again before he answered.

"Well," he said finally, "if I knew that, I'd be about ready to run the country. In the present confused state of mind the first man who really finds out what ought to be done will set the course for the next generation at least. But you might try this, just as a suggestion. I should say that the fundamental purpose of leadership to-day ought to be to get politicians, parties, and Government to treat the American people as if they were mostly honest, intelligent, and patriotic, instead of assuming that they are grasping, selfish, and like to be fooled."

How Honesty Works

"ISN'T it rather optimistic to hope that it can succeed?" I asked. "It isn't often tried. Few politicians have dared be honest, and most political policy lately has been based on the idea of tickling some particular selfish interest, and fooling the rest."

"Not a bit," he insisted. "There's been a lot of grabbing lately, to be sure. Politics has been too much of a grab-bag affair, and every one has had to grab or get left. But the great majority of Americans do not want more than their fair share, if they can trust the people in power to give them that."

"It's not very spectacular."

"No. Decent honesty isn't spectacular. But it works. We have an example of it right now. Look at the public attitude toward President Coolidge. Folks are not grabbing at him nor hustling him. They are leaving things to him to handle, and giving him all the time he wants to handle them.

"There is only one reason for that. He isn't spectacular. He doesn't rant. He makes no grand-stand plays. He is the exact opposite of a 'popular idol.' He does all the things a politician doesn't believe in. He has made no effort to rally the people to any flaming standard. Yet in State after State he is showing more strength than even his friends expected, and is everywhere proving stronger than his party.

"There is only one reason for that. He is trusted."

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A National Monument Underground

By S. R. WINTERS

The great Carlsbad Cavern, now a National Monument, has never been thoroughly explored. This immemorial home of bats may some day be known as one of the wonders of the world. Mr. Winters tells of our present knowledge of this vast cavern

TUNNELS so long that no one has yet searched out their ends; ceilings so high that torchlights fail to illumine them; weird beauty in a thousand shapes. All these await the observer in the Carlsbad Cavern, twenty-two miles southwest of Carlsbad, New Mexico. Withal, this little explored cave is already destined to be classified among the famous caverns of the world. For these reasons, a Presidential proclamation was recently issued designating it as a National Monument.

"The chambers in this cavern are the largest ever discovered," said Willis T. Lee, of the Geological Survey, United States Department of the Interior, in an interview with the writer upon his return to Washington, after having examined and photographed this phenomenally large and spectacular subterraneous cavity. This superlative with reference to the magnitude of the chambers of this cave, an estimate from the conservative mind of the geologist, was voiced after Mr. Lee had examined literature on the subject of caverns at home and abroad. And as yet only eight miles of the cave have been traversed!

One room of this newly designated National Monument is more than half a mile in length and is several hundred feet wide—although nobody knows how wide. Its floor is 170 feet below the entrance, which was formed by the fall of a small portion of the roof. Within less than two miles from this point the floor descends 500 feet, and yet the bottom of the cavern reaches still deeper, since chambers and hallways have been discovered 200 feet lower. The depths of this subterranean cavity, it is conservatively estimated, lie 1,000 feet below the entrance.

Quite contrary to one newspaper report that the interior presented an array of colors, the materials are snow white. The limestone in which this immense cave has been fashioned is approximately 1,300 feet thick, and is underlaid by an equally thick series of beds of soft shale and sandstone that include thick beds of gypsum and rock salt. The occurrence of these easily soluble beds under the 1,300 feet of hard yet soluble limestone may have produced a cavernous condition of the rocks that will show spectacular results, according to the Geological Survey.

Photo by Ray V. Davis

A dome in the Big Room, a vast cave over half a mile long and more than 300 feet high

The discovery of this monster hole underground had its origin in an unusual natural phenomenon. Bats making their exit at the close of daylight from a hole in the side of a valley attracted the attention of J. L. White and Bige Long, residents of southeastern New Mexico. That was in 1901, when this cave in the eastern foothills of the Guadalupe Mountains was first discovered. These original explorers penetrated the opening from which this army of bats emerged, and found a cave with vast deposits of bat guano. These deposits have proved to be a veritable mine for fertilizers, it having been estimated that at least 100,000 tons of bat guano have been recovered for the past several years, or from 1901 until the World War.

"As you stand there at twilight, bats begin coming out of this cave, and for three hours millions upon millions of them make their exit," Mr. Lee told me. "Where they go to and where they obtain feed is a mystery. They are so thick as they emerge from this cave that I reached up at random and grabbed a bat. They return to the cavern in the morning, consuming another three hours in making their entrance."

The recent expedition of this geologist of the United States Department of the Interior to the vicinity of Carlsbad, the principal town in southeastern New Mexico, was primarily for the purpose of examining a reservoir that had been tentatively selected for dam sites on the Pecos River. He did not find the prospective location for such an engineering project. He did, however, accurately appraise Carlsbad Cavern as a future wonder spot of the world.

Upon the return of Mr. Lee from New Mexico, the National Park Service recommended that this subterranean cavity should be made a National Monument. This recommendation has been favorably acted upon, and President Calvin Coolidge has already issued a proclamation setting it apart for this purpose. Meanwhile Mr. Lee has determined upon a system of nomenclature for the huge chambers. Instead of Greek names, In-

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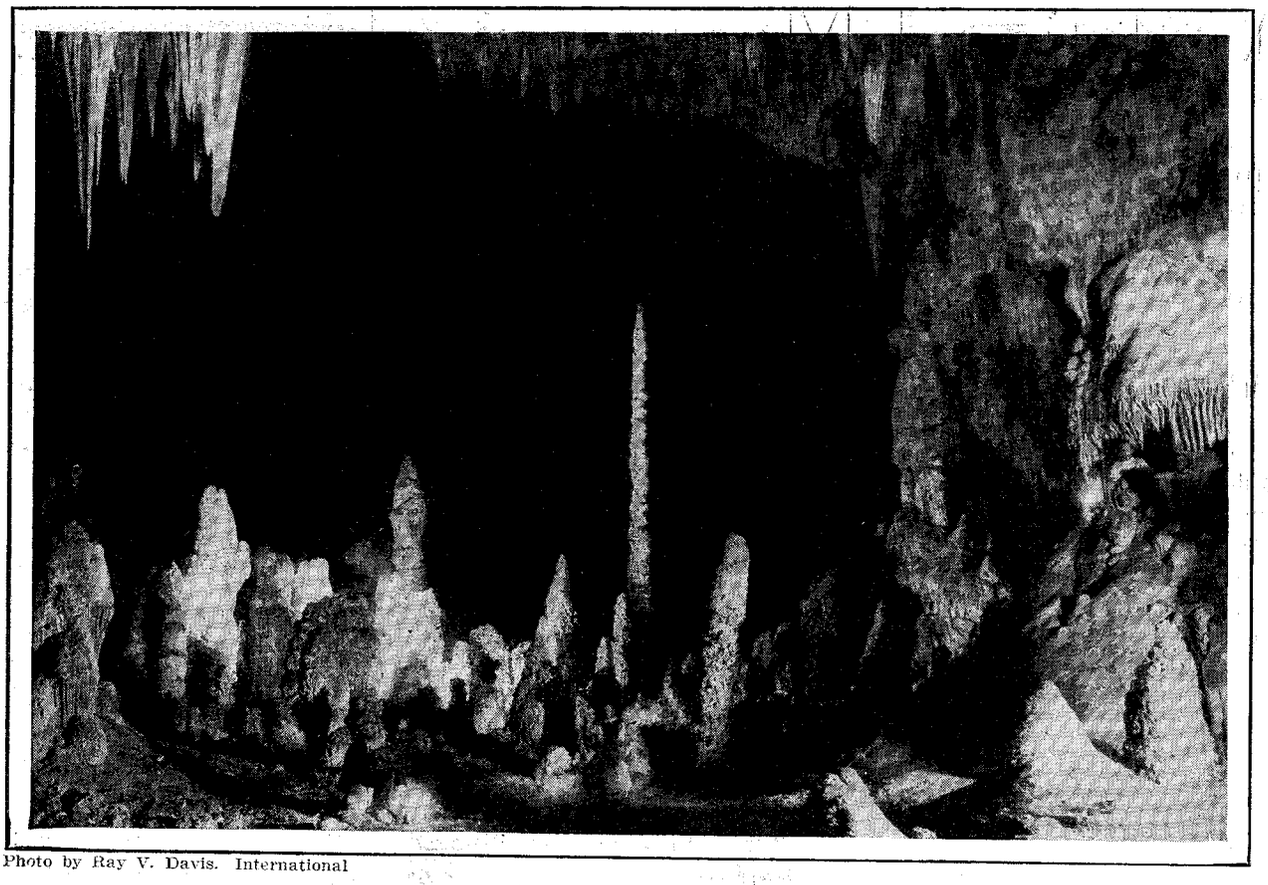

Photo by Ray V. Davis. International

The Totem Poles

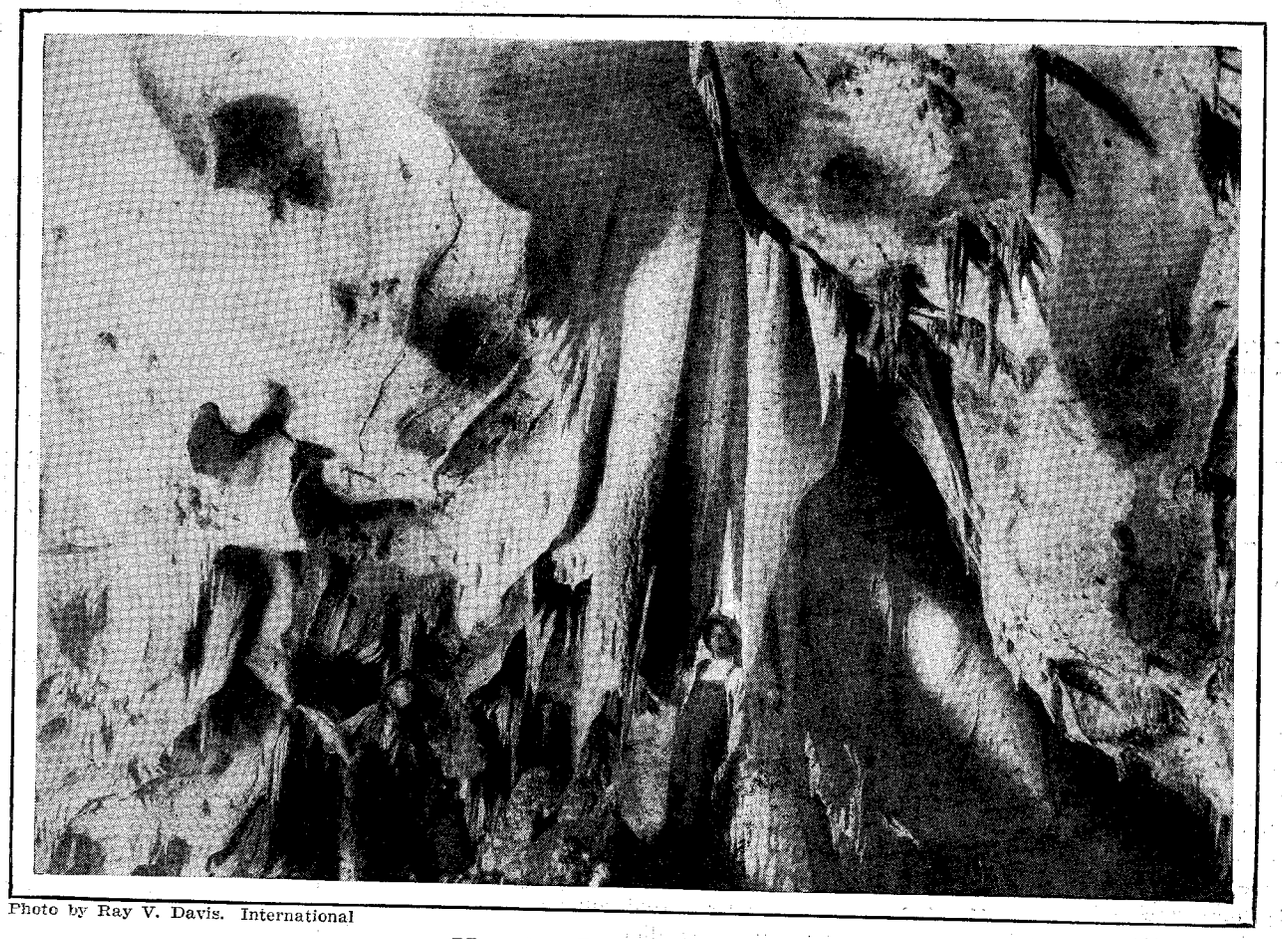

Photo by Ray V. Davis. International

Hanging Draperies of Lime

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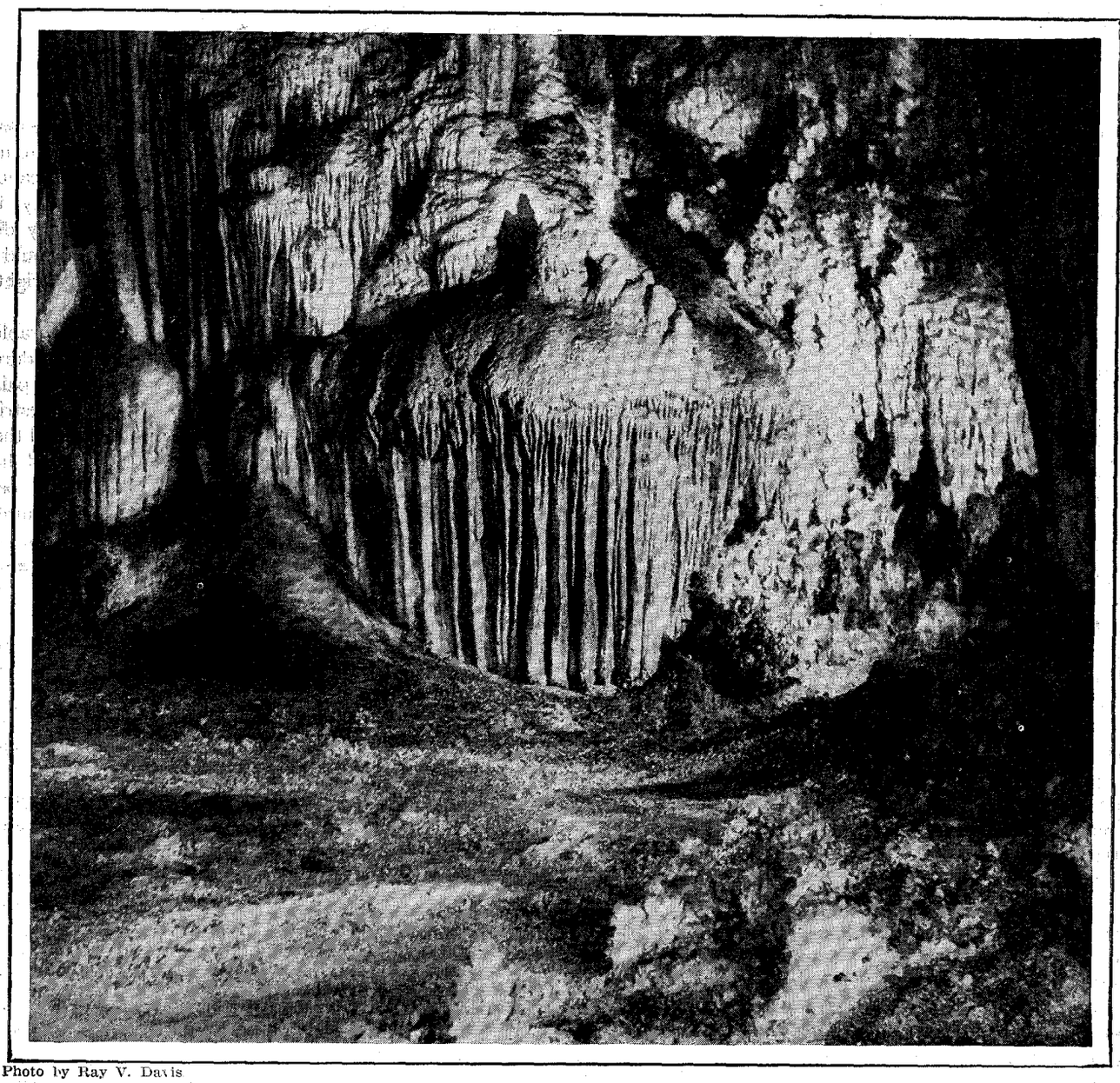

Photo by Ray V. Davis

Shinav Blanket—a curtain-like partition in the side of the Wigwam

dian mythology is the source for the naming of these underground passageways, which will likely in the future be traversed by thousands of citizens from all over the United States. For instance, one of the chambers has been designated as "Shinav," a name having its origin with one of the mythical Indian gods. "Yeitso Pillar" is another name applied to a beautiful column of onyx, which is named in honor of the mythical monster of the Navajo Indians. Fitting is it that the nomenclature of the chambers of this monstrous cavern should have its inspiration in Indian mythology, since this section of New Mexico is truly a habitat of the red men.

Until the facilities of the National Park Service for converting this wonder spot into a National Monument are operative visitors contemplating penetrating these miles of chambers should consider the conditions governing the present operation of the cavern. James L. White, the guide, who is in the employ of the commercial interests which are recovering the bat guano, lives in Carlsbad, thirty miles by roadway and twenty-two miles straight line to the cavern. He makes a charge for showing the cavern to tourists, and the only method now available for being lowered into this underground passageway is by means of a hoisting engine used by the company in recovering the bat guano. That is to say, if you visit this predestined famous cavern of the world at this time you will have to be lowered into the cave by means of a guano bucket.

The guano deposits are on the east side of the shaft of the cave, while the scenic views are located to the west of the shaft. For approximately one mile these fertilizer deposits are collected by traversing a narrow passageway, and, as previously stated, about 100,000 tons of bat guano have been obtained during a period of fifteen or more years. The one natural entrance to this cavity is approximately 150 feet in width.

Carlsbad Cavern, though already discovered to the extent of being appraised as one of the famous caverns of the world, has not been thoroughly explored. In recognition of this fact, the National Geographic Society has now arranged to send Willis T. Lee to spend several months in the recesses of this monstrous subterranean opening in order that this hidden wonder may be revealed in all its details. As it is now, no one has traveled to the end of any passage in Carlsbad Cavern.

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Platforms of the People

THE tabulation of ballots this week indicates fairly the thought of an important element in our National life. The table represents the entire country, sufficient ballots having been received from the Pacific, Mountain, and Southern Sections to balance in some respects the larger returns from the Central Agricultural, Central Industrial, and Coast Industrial Sections.

The views expressed are those of business men, lawyers, doctors, clergymen, teachers, students, engineers, farmers, and workers not generally included in the "white collar class." The percentages offer an interesting display of statistics, doubly interesting because the later returns serve to maintain the majority sentiments expressed during the early days of this inquiry, and therefore show that the country at large is of a single mind in its deliberations.

The ballots show independent thinking. Those designating themselves as Republicans, Democrats, or Independents in their political faiths frequently are at pains to point out that they do not stand with political leaders regardless of their practices. One is surprised to find so many ballots expressing no party preference. The majority of those recorded as Independent or unrecorded as to party preference seem to favor the present Administration. Some of these are probably Republicans who decline to be tagged with a party label until they are satisfied on many of the Presidential campaign issues, while others are probably habitually independent voters who like Coolidge but not his party.

In another way the returns are from independents. The editors of The Outlook have received many communications from persons who expressed the fear that large numbers of ballots would fall into the hands of propagandists and other agencies which would flood the returns in such a manner as to preclude any possibility of determining what the people are actually thinking. The danger of a flooding of the returns has not been great; but even so, against it we have taken quite adequate precautions. Thus far the ballots returned show no evidence of such attempts at propaganda. The vote has not been "stacked."

Many of the Democrats in the Central Agricultural Section favor compulsory freight-rate reduction, while Republicans and Independents are generally against it. While more than a third of the Democrats favor nationalization of the railways, still more oppose it, and nearly a quarter ignore the question.

The Central Agricultural Section is divided on the question of a Federal grain export corporation and Federal aid for farmers' co-operatives. The majority are against Federal price fixing. The Eastern States favor development of the St. Lawrence waterways equally with their Western neighbors, irrespective of party. The Southern and Pacific Sections favor extension of farm credits.

Half the Democrats favor Secretary Mellon's plan for tax reduction—more, in fact, than those who indorse Representative Garner's plan, which was devised under Democratic auspices. The Independents are almost as much in favor of the Mellon plan as are the Republicans. The question of tariffs finds sentiment equally divided in all sections. Half the men and women in the Southern Section favor the bonus for all veterans.

There is no doubt that the majority of the people favor rigid enforcement of the prohibition laws and are against any alteration of the law itself. A fourth of the Republican men and women in the Coast Industrial Section would change the law, likewise half the Independents in the Coast Industrial and Pacific Sections. The majority of the Democrats in the Coast Industrial Section would change the law.

Many women who oppose the idea of equal social, legal, and industrial rights for women point out that such legislation would eliminate the advantages women now enjoy. The same applies to the child labor question, many asserting that too strict legislation would handicap a child in supporting itself or contributing to that of the family. The vote against the Child Labor Amendment, however, is very light in every party group. For reasons not stated many persons oppose a Federal anti-lynching law. One man explains that the question is covered by existing laws against murder. Those opposing a Federal employment bureau are generally opposed to what they term the increasing tendency toward bureaucratic government. While a majority favor Federal aid for education, many dislike the idea because they think it would tend to destroy the self-governing rights of States and municipalities.

Immigration receives considerable attention. In the many letters addressed to the editors the writers are at pains to explain the urgent need for restrictive measures. The idea is suggested that all aliens should be registered and fingerprinted. Others would have a permanent research commission to inquire into and lend full publicity to all alien influences in politics, education, religion, and business.

Sentiment is overwhelmingly in favor of preparedness, of conservation, and of the reorganization of the executive departments.

All parties favor continuation of the Railroad Labor Board and are against abolishing injunctions in labor disputes. The Democrats in the Coast Industrial Section, a third of the Republicans and Independents in the Central Industrial, and a third of the Southern men and women favor nationalization of the coal mines.

The majority of Republican and Democratic men and women in the South favor the Ku Klux Klan. Elsewhere sentiment is overwhelmingly against it.

There is little indorsement of cancellation of foreign debts. Hundreds of persons have as many different ideas on the various matters pertaining to our foreign relations. There is little sentiment in favor of recognizing Russia.

Inasmuch as the weekly tabulation of returns indicates some very strong opinions among persons who obviously are American citizens residing in all sections of the country, their desires should prove valuable and informative to political leaders. The fact that it requires from one to three hours to mark the ballot, without making confusing statements as to preferences, should convince aspiring statesmen that many persons are thinking and will continue to think until the polls close in November.

The number of unflattering remarks directed at Congress in general and certain Congressmen in particular should convince the most skeptical that events in Washington are being closely followed. But then Congressmen will no doubt learn that for themselves when they set out electioneering in their own constituencies.

The Poll and the People

Thank you very much for the five hundred copies of the referendum platform. We have distributed these to the members of the League of Women Voters in Oberlin and are planning to hold a public mass-meeting in which the items listed are to be discussed. We are also giving publicity to these platforms in our local papers, and also in the Cleveland papers. We are urging that people give them careful thought and then mark them intelligently and mail them back to you.

So writes one woman who asked for extra copies of The Outlook's "Platforms of the People." It is a typical example of the response which The Outlook's plan has met with among thinking citizens.

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Weekly Recapitulation of Ballots for

The Platforms of the People

Figures show percentage based on number of ballots received

	Republican			Democratic			Independent		
	Approved	Ignored	Condemned	Approved	Ignored	Condemned	Approved	Ignored	Condemned
I—TRANSPORTATION									
1. Voluntary consolidation of the railroads	74	17	9	56	20	24	60	26	14
2. Compulsory consolidation of the railroads	13	23	64	16	23	61	20	40	40
3. Compulsory freight rate reduction	23	33	44	50	22	28	29	30	41
4. Continuance of Esch-Cummins Act	46	43	11	30	52	18	34	47	19
5. Nationalization of the railroads with co-operative administration by workers, shippers, and public	10	16	74	35	23	42	21	21	58
II—AGRICULTURAL RELIEF									
1. Formation of a Federal Grain Export Corporation	38	32	30	52	26	22	38	32	30
2. Federal aid for Farmers' Co-operatives	39	28	33	54	17	29	37	28	35
3. Federal purchase of wheat	5	37	58	22	24	54	8	25	67
4. Price fixing of staple farm products	8	22	70	27	24	49	11	22	67
5. Further extension of farm credits	50	35	15	61	18	21	50	25	25
6. Development of St. Lawrence waterways	66	21	13	57	32	11	68	22	10
III—TAXATION									
1. Reduction of taxes by Mellon plan	88	7	5	49	27	24	76	11	13
2. Reduction of taxes by Garner plan	7	29	64	39	30	31	14	36	50
3. A Federal tax on land held out of use	34	40	26	31	34	35	45	35	20
IV—TARIFF									
1. Continuance of Fordney-McCumber Tariff Law	49	32	19	17	31	52	29	38	33
2. Continuance of flexible provision for revenue only with lowering of tariffs	58	29	13	50	31	19	59	28	13
3. Tariff for revenue only without flexible provision	12	38	50	32	43	25	17	53	30
V—BONUS									
1. Adjusted compensation for all war veterans	17	7	76	38	7	55	20	13	67
VI—PROHIBITION									
1. Rigid enforcement under Civil Service	84	8	8	80	9	11	80	12	8
2. Change in the alcoholic content as now limited by the Volstead Act	24	12	64	35	17	48	27	13	60
VII—GENERAL WELFARE									
1. Equal social, legal, and industrial rights for women	65	17	18	57	17	26	70	15	15
2. An amendment enabling Congress to prevent exploitation of children in industry	87	7	6	82	8	10	85	9	6
3. Federal Anti-Lynching Law	71	15	14	48	23	29	69	17	14
4. Establishment of a Federal Employment Bureau	52	21	27	57	24	19	48	27	25
VIII—EDUCATION									
1. Extension of principle of Federal aid for education	56	15	29	67	12	21	63	17	20
IX—IMMIGRATION									
1. Registration of aliens	89	8	3	77	10	13	84	11	5
2. Continuance of quota method of restriction	52	21	27	48	12	40	48	23	29
3. Further restriction	77	14	9	74	13	13	68	18	14
4. Less restriction	7	45	48	7	33	60	12	30	58
5. Examination of prospective immigrants at ports of departure	80	19	1	84	12	4	95	4	1

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	Republican			Democratic			Independent		
	Approved	Ignored	Condemned	Approved	Ignored	Condemned	Approved	Ignored	Condemned
X—PREPAREDNESS									
1. Expansion of Navy to standards set by Conference on Limitation of Armament	88	5	7	74	11	15	71	14	15
2. Extension of Air Service	82	11	7	75	13	12	45	44	11
XI—AIR MAIL									
1. The further development of air mail service	74	18	8	76	14	10	75	16	9
XII—LABOR									
1. Continuance of Railroad Labor Board	67	24	9	60	23	17	60	25	15
2. Abolition of injunctions in labor disputes	9	26	65	19	38	43	20	28	52
3. Nationalization, and democratic administration by technicians, workers, and consumers, of coal mines	26	18	56	40	24	36	36	22	42
4. Federal licensing of private detective agencies	56	29	15	45	38	17	54	32	14
XIII—KU KLUX KLAN									
1. Programme of Klan	15	16	69	35	28	37	13	39	48
XIV—SUPER-POWER									
1. Government control and distribution of high-power transmission	54	18	28	53	20	27	54	19	27
XV—MONEY									
1. Issuing of Federal currency based on commodities and labor	12	22	66	20	30	50	23	27	50
XVI—CONSERVATION									
1. A vigorous conservation policy with extended Federal control over public properties	83	12	5	85	8	7	87	8	5
XVII—MERCHANT MARINE									
1. Sale of Government ships to private owners	76	15	9	52	20	28	68	17	15
2. Operation by Government of Government-owned ships	20	23	57	40	28	32	31	21	48
3. Federal ship subsidy	57	15	28	29	37	34	47	26	27
XVIII—GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION									
1. Reorganization of the Executive Departments on the lines proposed in President's Annual Message	88	11	1	64	31	5	82	15	3
2. Effort to arrest the development of bureaucratic power	79	17	4	54	29	17	74	24	2
XIX—FOREIGN RELATIONS									
1. League of Nations	25	23	52	68	14	18	37	27	36
2. World Court	79	13	8	54	25	21	74	17	9
3. Hague Tribunal	57	35	8	30	53	17	48	44	8
4. Development of Four-Power Treaty principle	57	35	8	31	53	16	48	39	13
5. Secretary Hughes's present policy:	56	40	4	29	66	5	43	49	8
(*a*) Non-recognition of Russia.	86	8	6	61	19	20	70	14	16
(*b*) Strengthening Monroe Doctrine	85	11	4	74	17	9	70	18	12
(*c*) Sale of arms to foreign governments	53	21	26	27	16	57	38	28	34
(*d*) Unofficial co-operation with foreign commissions	69	20	11	21	44	35	61	24	15
(*e*) Least possible participation	41	30	29	26	32	42	36	28	36
6. Cancellation of foreign debts	11	10	79	18	20	62	10	13	77

April 30, the date of this issue, is the last day of the poll on the Platforms of the People. The ballot was printed in The Outlook for March 26. Ballots mailed and postmarked on or before April 30 and received on or before May 7 will be tabulated.

Address: The Editors of The Outlook, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

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Germany and Her Neighbors[1]

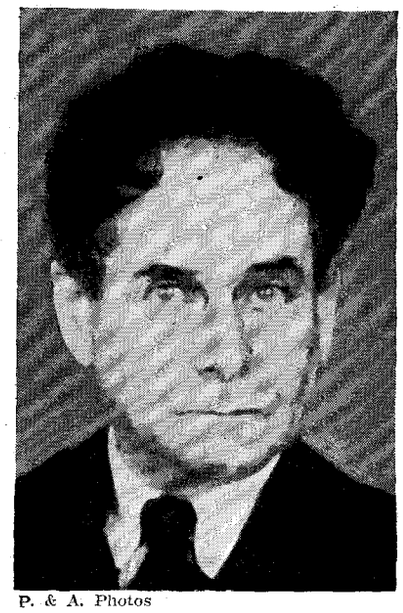
By MAXIMILIAN HARDEN

A WOMAN has stood for hours on the street in the rain to secure for her small household (to feed which she has available hardly half of the former, never munificent, wages of a laborer, and which consequently suffers dire need), to secure for her husband and children a half-pound of vegetable fat to add to their bread and thin soups, their only food for months. She has no leisure to think of the time when there was meat on the table every day, when she could give her little ones sweets, cakes, candies, and chocolates. Now she has no shirt, no bed-linen, no milk, no butter for her little boy. Eggs are only dreamed-of luxuries, and if she would get a doctor for her little girl, who has been coughing so terribly for the last week, the hole in the budget cannot be filled up for months. And there are millions of human beings like this woman in the German cities. Is it not natural that a comparison of the fairly comfortable life in the days of the Emperor, with the gray misery of the present, should mislead this woman into thinking that the Empire is to be preferred to the Republic? Because the price of butter has risen beyond reach, William does not seem so bad as he is painted. That is simple. That is clear to the popular logic of the masses.

Of course it would be easy to prove that the price of butter, and all the present business, is but the final outcome of Wilhelmism. But the law of cause and effect, which would furnish this proof, is much too complicated, too subtle, for the dulled minds of those laden with cares, who, in patched shoes and threadbare clothes, tramp through the morass of their daily needs. And again the attempt to prove this relation has not been made, at least never with the crude means adapted to mass psychology which alone could make it effective. And the German Republic, daily called by its leaders "the freest in the world," cultivates and honors the memory of the monarchy as a sacred possession. And the result of all these doings is felt everywhere. Wherever Ludendorff, Hindenburg, and their associates appear, they are greeted with many more cheers than Foch, Joffre, Pétain, Douglas Haig, or Pershing has ever heard. Only those are popular who have led the country into war, into the illusion of annexations and the resulting hegemony, into defeat. Among the great number of Ministers who have held office since 1919 there has not been one who did not share richly the responsibility for what had happened. Not even those Ministers who were murdered by the nationalists were free from this guilt; neither Erzberger, who during the war had unscrupulously led the propaganda and had demanded for the Germans the choicest portions of northeastern France, nor the intelligent and cultured but unproductive and vain Rathenau, who, as a favorite of the Emperor, had risen in the War Ministry to be Controller of Raw Materials; who played the democrat only because it was advantageous; who objected to Ludendorff's peace proposals, although he boundlessly admired Ludendorff, as being premature; who after four years of war noisily recommended the impossible plan of continuing the war by mass uprisings; who advised not signing the Treaty of Versailles; and, when he finally obtained his seat in the Cabinet, the goal of his ambition, left as the sole result of his official career a single sterile fruit, the Treaty of Rapallo, the first step towards German-Russian alliance. All these men wasted the greater part of their not too considerable talents in covering up their former mistakes and in the arduous attempt to prove that they had always been "in the right." All of them were and are intimidated by the terror of the nationalists. Hence the eternal useless repetition of the long list of "legal infractions," "arbitrariness," "cruelty," of which "the enemy" is accused. The stronger the denunciations of the enemy, the louder the applause.

The Present Tyrannical and Inefficient German Bureaucracy

AND is this to be wondered at? The perpetual assertion, inherited by one régime from the other, that a nation of immaculately spotless, angelic, and modest people was forced into war and abject poverty by the malice, greed, and envy of wicked neighbors and competitors; this legend, taking hold of the minds of the people, could not fail to have an effect. The German people are less free, less protected by law and justice, than ever was the case before the war under the monarchy, are almost incessantly suppressed by military dictators and all kinds of "exceptional" laws, whose execution lies in the hands of generals and officers of the former Empire. The administration of justice is characterized by the fact that all monarchistic plotters, murderers, traitors, are left un-



P. & A. Photos

Maximilian Harden

perhaps the most courageous of German publicists and a man whose warfare upon the spirit of Kaiserism dates back for many years, gives in the accompanying article an amazingly clear picture of the psychology of the German nation.

In a more extended form this article will later appear in a work entitled "These Eventful Years: The Twentieth Century in the Making," which will be published by the Encyclopædia Britannica Company. The two volumes of this work will give an authentic picture of what has happened in the world of peace and war, in history, science, art, and the many other activities of man during the first twenty-four years of the present century.

Another article, also to be included in the two-volume work of the Encyclopædia Britannica Company, will be published next week. It is a most stimulating piece of criticism by Clive Bell entitled "Æsthetic Truth and Futurist Nonsense."

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disturbed, or, if by some unpreventable misfortune their arrest is rendered unavoidable, they are given the most lenient sentences and often permitted to escape from prison. The German Parliaments are miserable caricatures of parliamentary government, and if they become inconvenient, any Government may at any time disregard them by obtaining emergency laws and dictatorial powers from the same Parliaments.

The body of officialdom, swollen to enormous proportions by culpable neglect, by comradeship and the nepotism of the ruling parties, was divested, by the crudest quack methods, of its superfluous fat with unreasonable rapidity, as if what had been neglected so long was to be made up in a day; half a million of employees whom the state had agreed to support were thrown on the streets, and the salaries of the officials remaining in office were lowered to such an extent that even the best paid could not live on them or, in case of death, pay their funeral expenses. So great was the hardship thus produced that the Secretary of the Foreign Office shouted into the ear of the Minister of Finance an accusation that such niggardliness was bound to breed corruption even among those officials who were not yet tainted. The worker has lost the eight-hour day, the last acquisition that remained of the many promises of the Revolution; then the only possibility of social reconciliation and of an existence worthy of a human being was destroyed. Shall they who perhaps are forced to slave eight hours in the dark mine pits or ten hours in foundries or factories, for a quarter of the corresponding American wages, see in the institution of the Republic a gift of fortune worthy of self-sacrificing defense? And where is the guard of this Republic to be recruited, this Republic which has given nothing to any class, not even land to the peasant, which only took everything, and which is beset by grumbling groups of *déclassés,* aristocrats, officers, and officials?

Unparalleled Prosperity of Profiteers and of the Peasant Regions—Poverty in the Cities

THE Government brought no class a permanent gain, but for years a great swarm of persons enjoyed, if not wealth, at least a glittering imitation of it. Beside hollow-cheeked want, over the graves of the middle classes, who have wretchedly eked out their lives by the sale of family heirlooms and necessary household goods, voluptuous luxury struts shamelessly. The carousing and debauched profiteers crowd the theaters and pack the concert-halls, dance-halls, restaurants, tea-rooms, bars, boxing and wrestling matches, cafés, race-courses, seaside resorts, Alpine villages, winter sport places, and the public and private dens, increasing every month in number, where half-nude or altogether nude female bodies are exhibited, bidding for the favor of visitors. They have the most expensive Rolls-Royces, the most elegant mistresses, rent the finest quarters in the mountains and at the seashore, buy all that money can buy, and never ask timidly what anything may cost. Where does all the money come from? It is not necessary once more to repeat here the thousandfold incidents of war profiteers, of the newly rich, the specious blessing of inflation, the capital smuggled out of the country, hidden at home, or disguised behind neutral names, the mad craze for foreign money and stock speculating which possesses all layers of society, the evasion of taxation, and the rooting out of the instinct of accumulation. Attention is called to the fact that all of those living on agricultural productions, still almost three-fifths of the population, never had such large and secure profits as in the period following the opening of the war and the blockade; that the depreciation of paper money to worse than ridiculous figures frees them from all mortgages and other debts, and has made possible the improvement and modernization of peasant houses, large estates, herds of cattle, agricultural machinery, and all other inventories. Churches, schools, local government, and private buildings even in the remotest villages are improved to an extent never thought of before; peasants, in order to get rid of the scraps of paper money, devaluating overnight, have bought pianos, phonographs, motor cycles, automobiles; for their wives and daughters silks, velvets, furs, sweaters, laces, corsets, the finest lingerie, whole mountains of linen, dress goods, woolens, yarns; and even twelve-year-old girls are already supplied with all their dowry; simple foresters carry on farming or cattle raising in their spare time, keep a dozen head of cattle, a half-dozen fat pigs in their barns, raise geese, turkeys, chickens, and catch enough fish and crabs to supply the demand of large city restaurants. Such is the situation in the country. And it is quite natural that the city population readily gives without thought its ugly paper money, which in its hands, pockets, or purses would become valueless, for goods or trifles, for enjoyment or glittering pleasures. Thus (as the German saying goes) "money circulates." No one has a special desire to offer this money as taxes to a watchful Government which has nobody's confidence, still less to pay it into a fund which is to furnish the sums demanded by the "enemy" for reparations. "The enemy would take everything anyhow." Every appeal to the conquered nation's sense of duty, to settle down to the meager life of pauperized and heavily indebted creatures, is followed by the above or a similar answer. Moreover, in this overtired, undernourished people, grown obtuse by catastrophes, disappointed in their beliefs and superstitions in words, party dogmas, and leaders, all interest in politics has died out like a faint candle-flame after a short flickering in the wind; in the increasing worry as to the morrow, in the never-ending breathless struggle to secure the most necessary things, only the two allied words, "enemy" and "reparations," still sometimes begin to rouse a faint glimmer.

All Minds Regard "Reparations" as the Central Problem in World Rehabilitation

FOR in all minds, those that are empty, simple, or fully equipped with culture, the opinion is rooted that upon the solution of the reparations problem depends the destiny of Germany, of Europe, of even a much greater portion of the world. It is peculiar how long this false opinion persists even among better minds. Whether during a period of thirty years Germany pays to the victorious Governments forty, fifty, even sixty thousand million marks (real marks, not paper marks), will not determine its destiny nor that of any other country. The reparations will surely not be delivered in the way the Treaty of Versailles provides, an imitation of the manner of collecting damages in a civil suit. They simply cannot be delivered in that way. These sums may be paid either in raw materials, manufactured goods, and labor, or from the profit on exported goods. There is no third possibility. If Germany pays in goods, products of the soil, and labor, it will ruin the industry of France, its main creditor, which even later would largely depend for repairs and separate parts upon the industries of the debtor nation. If Germany should wish to pay from the income of the (at present very unfavorable) balance of trade, it must so restrict the importation of everything that can possibly be dispensed with, so increase exports of cheap goods (the starvation wages making possible a "dumping" process of unheard-of dimensions), that this forced increase would become unbearable to the other exporting states, even the strongest of them. But reparations is only an appendix in the body of the main problem. If this appendix should be freed from its inflammatory

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fever by a careful internal treatment, or cut away by the knife of the surgeon, the main problem would still remain unsolved. Of what does it consist and how did it arise? At least two-thirds of all Europeans were for four years applying their entire labor power to the purpose of destroying goods, annihilating values. Now about three hundred million Europeans (not entirely identical with those first mentioned) have no internationally accepted money, no half-way decent credit, can buy nothing substantial or valuable, especially no high quality goods, and thereby are depriving the other third, that is not yet robbed of its purchasing power, of its possible markets, of an opportunity to sell its goods, land and sea products, and manufactures; there starvation, here wealth suffocating in its own fat; there a lowering of consumption, here unemployment. Increase in production and decrease of buyers, reparation demands of the creditors whose fulfillment will still further weaken the debtor as a customer, and for a longer period of time; that is the problem.

The True Solution of Europe's Problem: Franco-German Co-operation

The key which could solve the question is to be found *only* by the road of Franco-German collaboration. Between the Pas de Calais and the Teutoburg forest, where Hermann the Cheruscan once defeated the legions of the Roman Imperator, between the Belgian Zeebrugge and the Westphalian city of Hamm, in the valleys of the main rivers —the Scheldt, Meuse, Moselle, Rhine, and Ruhr—lies the richest industrial section of Europe. The richest, thanks to the favors of nature and of civilization. Here are coal, ores, iron, while coke and steel are also produced; here are mines, foundries, smelting and rolling mills; machine, dye and other chemical factories; industrial plants of all kinds, served by the finest and most complicated railway system and the most intricate network of canals. For centuries there have been struggles for the control of this territory. Disregarding the outworn dynastic and nationalistic forces which separated this territory, yearning for economic unity and a tariff union, by means of three boundaries, into Belgium, France, and Germany, can the attempt to secure for it a unified administration, determined only by the counsel of economic reason, be a successful one? Upon the answer to *this* question the immediate destiny of Europe depends. This most profitable section of our continent (which is not very rich in natural wealth when compared with other continents) can never be so thoroughly exploited by three mutually suspicious or even hostile competitors to such an extent as it would have to be if Europe's position is to be maintained and this continent maintain itself in contest with present and future world trusts, with Pan-America, the British Empire, the Russo-Slavic and the Yellow Mongolian systems. England, which owns nothing on the Continent of Europe save Gibraltar, the naval fortress once wrested from the Spaniards, now one of Britain's guard-houses at the gateway to the Mediterranean, has grown accustomed to use the power and the rights, the sovereignty and the economics of the European states as trump cards and ringing coin in its world politics. It must learn to relinquish this custom, which seems stable only to those who are short-sighted. To England belong Australia, the heart of Africa, Canada, the enormous Hindu Empire. In this direction points the compass of the future—to the paths which Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Randolph Churchill, and Joseph Chamberlain proposed, and which Mr. Stanley Baldwin tried to follow, but with too hasty and too unsure a step; to the self-sufficient empire, protected by preferential tariffs, and supplying itself with raw materials and manufactured goods, with labor and with a market, which does not need to heap upon itself the odium of a "perfidious Albion," by attempting to make its trade the measure of all things, and exploiting the whole globe for this purpose, one day here and one day there. England would like to prevent a Franco-German understanding, because here there might develop an economic power, disagreeably strong, a metal trust, producing cheaper than the Island Empire; and therefore, after having taken everything seizable from Germany, her navy, her merchant marine, her colonies, her commercial holdings, her oversea credits and even privately owned stocks, England preaches to the French daily, with Puritanic zeal, the duty of magnanimous affection for the poor German neighbor. The sooner England gives up this disadvantageous position, the better she will preserve her dignity and at the same time her advantage. If she desires only security on the coast of Flanders, which might become the sally-gate against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, this desire can be fulfilled. Due to England's will, which permitted no military Power to rise on this coast, Belgium was neutralized in the course of the last century. The neutralization, guaranteed by strong Powers, including those of the League of Nations, of the entire industrial section between the Scheldt and the Ruhr, would give sufficient protection, would also give France and Belgium the "securities" that they so violently demand, and would take from them every pretense of veiled annexations and of interference with the freedom and self-determination of the Rhine and Ruhr population. If this industrial section, disregarding the political boundaries arbitrarily drawn by dynastic jealousies and diplomatic intrigues, is rationally combined into the economic entity to which it is predestined, it can rapidly help France and Germany to overcome the consequences of the war, strengthening them for the cultural task which the reconstruction of Russia puts upon them, and thus become the source from which will come the recovery of our continent. The nationalistic solution of the threatening problem is to arm for a war of revenge which, no matter how it ended, would bring about new armaments and new wars, and let Europe's fate be as in Œdipean tragedy. The other solution demands Franco-German collaboration as the prerequisite and germinal cell of a European economic and tariff unity. Only as George Washington saved the North American States, exhausted from war and weakened by rivalry, can the old Continent too be saved. Europe will become in the near future the home of at least economically united states, which later on will probably form a central administrative and political pool; or it will fall from its high estate, held for a thousand years, and, an outworn, calcinated organism, will become the vassal, the repair shop, the arsenal, and the museum of younger nations.

Germany's Chances of Rebirth

Only in a new Europe can a new and healthy Germany develop. Germany is still sick, in spirit more than in her economic structure. She is not quite so poor as she would like to seem, because she has always been, and is still, told that the whole world is hostile to her and, through jealousy and greed, is taking everything that she does not succeed in hiding. But is it possible to hide the wealth of a nation, even what is left of it? The number of those who carry on big business is still large. The stables and barns of the farmer are filled, in the city the number of new palaces and villas, motor cars, cafés, and amusement places grows; and three weeks before Christmas, in spite of sky-high prices, no accommodations were any longer to be had at mountain resorts. The class between the "money makers" and manual laborers, who, in order to remain efficient, must be allowed a minimum subsistence, that class, clothed in rags, is starving; decimation of the teaching

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staff; school classes up to a hundred and fifty pupils under *one* teacher; ink, pens, pencils, text-books—all terribly expensive; students who eke out their existence by playing piano all night long in dens of vice, while instructors carry bags of coal; daughters of lawyers, ministers, and judges serving as waitresses and scrubwomen—such is the fate of the middle classes of Germany to-day.

The insanity of the resistance, hopeless from the first day, against the occupation of the Ruhr, which devoured enormous sums, more than would have had to be paid for reparations up to at least 1928, has given the state finances the final blow. Whether the Ruhr occupation was lawful or unlawful, according to the wording of the Peace Treaty, is not discussed here. Surely many an injustice has been done the German people. But the eternal fuming about this has been just as ineffective as for years the continuous whining of: "Germany is lying on her death-bed!" Germany is not dying. She has been harmed more from within than from without. For, since 1914, she has been administered and governed much worse than was ever the case in the Imperial period of William. She must help herself, not demand help from others; not see only the splinter in her neighbor's eye and deny the beam in her own; look forward, not backward. The picture that Germany presents to the world to-day is confused, unclear, gloomy; but gives no cause for despair. Similar symptoms of decay became visible after France's first great Revolution in the days of the *assignats* and the *Directoire*. And these days did not follow upon such a sudden, such a cataclysmic fall from the pinnacle of power as Germany has experienced. Too long was Germany accustomed to obey silently, to protect her main industries and her best advantage in an aggressive war, and to make only those sacrifices which she was ordered to make. Blindly, she stumbled into freedom, bleeding from a thousand wounds, and has not yet found her bearings in the chaos. Boundless blessings did the Germany of the Nibelungen, Walter von der Vogelweide, Dürer, Kant, Goethe, Handel, Bach, Beethoven, and Mozart give to the world; and boundless blessings will in future mature in her womb. This will come when Germany recognizes that the truth is the strongest of all swords, that the religion of the spirit made flesh is not simply a commercial ornament or a holiday spectacle, that the method of fighting and the concepts of honor of the feudal period are not compatible with the new form of civilization and culture, of industrialism, and that every nation, large or small, must conform to the spirit of humanity without conceit and arrogant contempt for others. If this spirit is revealed in modest majesty, it will lead Germany from the darkness into the light. That this new apocalypse may not come too late, is the wish of all those of good will.

The Case of the Actors and the Managers

By JOHN EMERSON

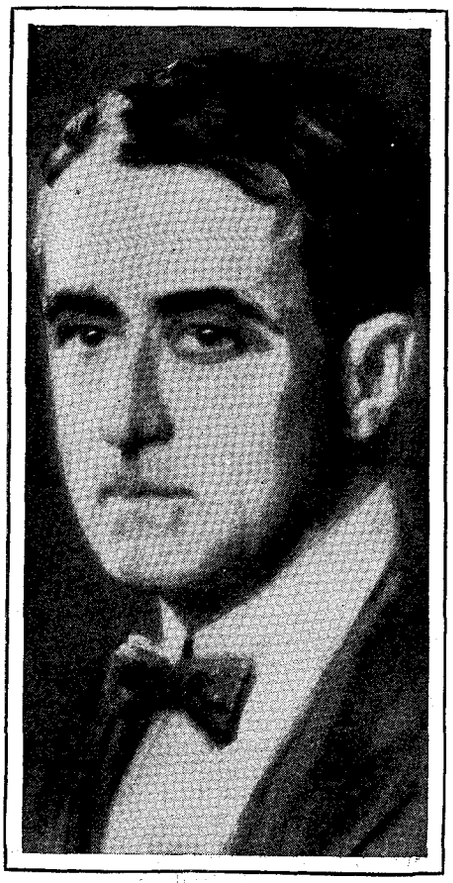
President of the Actors Equity Association

One of the most interesting disputes between employers and employees is in stageland. There are vital principles at stake in these controversies, and the President of the Actors Equity Association reports them vividly and clearly

BEFORE the formation of the Actors Equity Association the economic conditions under which the actor worked were so deplorable that they seem absurd and ridiculous to any one not intimately connected with the theater.

In the first place, the actor was obliged to rehearse, without pay, for a length of time solely dependent upon the convenience or whim of the manager, and after these interminable free rehearsals the actor was not assured that he would ever receive one cent of pay. There was a case on record of an actor rehearsing nine weeks and then playing one night, receiving for the entire nine weeks' and one night's work one-eighth of one week's salary. There were many other cases in which actors would rehearse six to eight weeks, and the play would then be abandoned, and the actor would receive nothing at all for his work.

It was also the rule that for several specified weeks during the year the actor was to receive only half salary. One of these weeks was election week. It was assumed that during election week the business of the theaters was adversely affected because of the people's interest for the moment in political questions. Hence the actor must receive only half salary. In this connection there is an instance on record of a company playing in Canada during the week when elections were being held in the United States. Just why the election in the United States should affect the theater attendance in Canada is not clear. Nevertheless the actors were paid one-half week's salary for their work.



John Emerson

In these "good old days" the manager could also lay off a company at any time, anywhere, without notice, and without salary; and there were many other minor abuses which it is unnecessary to mention, but which in the aggregate made the actor's life, not only precarious, but humiliating.

During this entire period the managers had a powerful organization, but never took one step to remedy conditions, and it must be borne in mind that most of the prominent producers were the same then as now.

The Actors Equity Association was formed in 1913 by 300 actors and actresses, and climbed painfully up until 1917, when a standard contract was wrung from the managers. This con-

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tract, although indorsed by the Managers Association itself, was reluctantly employed by its members and its terms were rarely observed. Things went from bad to worse until the summer of 1919, when the actors were forced to call a strike against the managers in order to compel recognition of their contract. The actors won; but within a year they realized that it was a mocking victory, since the conditions enforced by Equity for its members were given gratuitously by the managers to non-members, in order to make it of no value for them to join the Equity, and in order to wean members away from the Equity by showing them that they could become delinquent and drop out without the sacrifice of any of the benefits Equity had won. This scheme of the managers met with a considerable degree of success, as many of our members lacked the vision to see that that way lay the ultimate disintegration of the Equity and the loss of everything that had been gained.

We soon realized that unless some system could be devised which would remedy this state of things a return to the old disgraceful conditions would be inevitable. The only practical remedy we were able to find was what is known as the "Equity Shop," the policy under which Equity members could play only in company with Equity members.

The agreement made at the close of the strike in 1919 prevented our putting this policy into force with the Producing Managers Association until June 1, 1924, when the agreement expires. It has, however, been in force for three seasons with practically all companies throughout the country which are not controlled by the Producing Managers Association, and has worked with satisfaction to all concerned. These outside companies comprise at least seventy-five per cent of those with which this policy is concerned, and it is the intention of the Equity Association on June 1 to extend this policy to the other twenty-five per cent which are controlled by the Producing Managers Association.

It is on this point, and this point alone, that the controversy between the Equity and the Producing Managers Association rests, an agreement having been reached on all other points under discussion.

In all the propaganda which the Producing Managers Association have put forward they have repeatedly and persistently stated that we are demanding the "closed shop" in the theater. This, of course, is absurdly untrue. The Equity Association is as much opposed to the "closed shop" in the theater as the managers themselves, but the spokesman of the Producing Managers Association knows that "closed shop" carries extremely disagreeable implications to many people, particularly employers of labor, and he uses the phrase "closed shop" as describing our policy, in the hope that it will arouse public sentiment against us. I am forced to say that we regard such propaganda as unfair, unsportsmanlike, and extremely dishonest. The "Equity Shop" policy has no relation whatever to the "closed shop," inasmuch as our ranks can never be "closed." We are bound to take into our Association any man, woman, or child that any manager wishes to engage for a part, whether he or she has had experience or not. We reserve the right to say that Equity members will work only in company with Equity members, but the manager has the right to engage all non-Equity casts, if he chooses to do so, and our ranks are open at all times to any one whom a manager wishes to engage.

When the Producing Managers Association were notified that we intended to put the "Equity Shop" policy in force with them at the termination of our agreement, a mighty yell rent the welkin. They shouted from the housetops that this policy would give Equity supreme power in the theater, and would result in dreadful abuses. We replied that we had no desire for supreme power, and if they would point out the abuses which they feared might rise we would take measures to prevent them. We made note of all their objections, and then drew up an agreement protecting them against every abuse which they declared they feared. This agreement was approved by our Council and indorsed by our membership at a general meeting, and has been declared by a very important group of the Producing Managers Association to be perfectly equitable and fair. As a body, however, they turned it down, and a certain standpat group of their membership has declared that they will stop producing, close the theaters, and lock the actors out before they will accept this agreement. We hope and believe they will change their minds before the first of June, as every person outside the theater to whom we have submitted the agreement for criticism has declared it to be just and fair in every particular.

The first objection raised by the Producing Managers Association to the policy of the Equity Shop was that it would give to the Equity power as to dictating the type of plays to be produced, and as to what actors should play in them. We replied that if they had any such ridiculous fear, we were very glad to protect them against such a catastrophe, and as a result the following clause was inserted in the proposed agreement:

> The Equity will not in any way interfere with the casting of plays, nor prescribe the number or types of actors or chorus people to be employed in any piece, nor establish lines of parts or business, nor in any way interfere with, or dictate to, authors or managers as to the subject-matter, plot, or text of plays.

Having satisfied them on this point, they then said that the Equity would keep new talent from entering the theater by closing its ranks, thus creating in reality a "closed shop." We replied that this would indeed be a calamity, and we were more than glad to guarantee them against any such contingency. Consequently the following clauses were inserted in the proposed agreement:

> Any actor, or any person, man, woman, or child, wishing to become an actor shall always be allowed to join Equity without delay, and with no limiting entrance conditions except the payment of initiation fees and dues and subscription to the Equity Constitution.
>
> There shall be no apprentice or probationary period. There shall be established no lines of parts, seniority or preferential ranking, or any agreement, open or secret, as to salaries, or any other arrangement to prevent free competition between managers for the services of any actor, and unrestricted competition among members themselves. Every member shall, as soon as admitted, be on an equal competitive basis, artistically and economically, with every other member, and shall so remain.
>
> There shall be no classes or classifications of members whatsoever, except those made necessary for the apportionment of the various types of Equity dues—and such classes shall be instituted and maintained for this purpose only.

They then said that that was all very well, but that actors could be kept out of the Equity if we should adopt the subterfuge of raising our admission fee to a prohibitive amount. We agreed with them that this was quite true, and in order to protect them against this the following clause was inserted in the proposed agreement:

> The Equity will not raise its initiation fee above ten dollars for junior members (actors of less than two years' experience), and twenty-five dollars for all others.

They then said: "Suppose an actor should resign from Equity. He could then be heavily penalized before being allowed to return." We agreed that this might be done, and in order to make

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Wide World Photos

Ethel Barrymore, First Vice-President of the Actors Equity Association

sure that it would not be done the following clause was inserted in the agreement:

> Any Equity member in good standing, who has resigned of his own volition and who wishes to rejoin, shall be immediately reinstated. The re-entrance fee for such members shall be the same as for new members of the same class.

Having laid these specters, they then said that they feared the Equity would force up the salaries of actors to prohibitive amounts. We replied that the Equity Association has never had anything to say about actors' salaries, and never will, but to reassure them the following clause was inserted:

> The Equity will in no way interfere as regards salary—each actor being allowed absolute freedom to accept any salary agreed on between him and his manager. (This does not apply to the Chorus Equity, which is a separate organization, and which has a minimum salary of thirty dollars per week.)

They then said that if the Council of the Equity, for any reason, should wish to "job" an actor, they could trump up a charge against him and expel him, thus reducing materially his chance of earning a livelihood. We agreed that this conceivably might be done, and in order to avoid it the following clause was inserted in the agreement:

> Any producer or actor expelled or suspended by either Association may appeal from the decision of his own Association to the joint Arbitration Board, and no punitive suspension shall be unjustly prolonged.

These objections having all been met, the Producing Managers Association said that they feared our connection with the American Federation of Labor, because if the stage-hands or musicians should strike for more pay, or for any other reason, we would have to strike in sympathy with them. In order to allay this fear, and after a consultation with the officials of the stage-hands, musicians, and the Federation of Labor, we inserted the following clause in the agreement:

> Actors Equity at no time during the agreement between the Producing Managers Association and the Actors Equity Association are to go on any sympathetic strikes with the musicians, stage-hands, or any other trade union directly or indirectly affiliated with the Federation of Labor. But no actor will be obliged to take the place of a stage-hand or musician. This agreement will be underwritten and guaranteed by the Stage-Hands and Musicians Unions and the American Federation of Labor.

Having met and answered all these objections, we were then told that during the strike of 1919 the members of the Producing Managers Association had given their word of honor to the members of the Actors Fidelity League (a rival organization) that they would never be forced into the Equity Association. We considered this objection very carefully, and finally decided that we ought not to ask a manager or any one else to break his word of honor, and for that reason the following article was inserted:

> The members of the Actors Equity Association will not refuse to play with those members of the Actors Fidelity League who were members in good standing September 1, 1923.

The date, September 1, 1923, was fixed because that was the time when these negotiations began.

It seemed to us by this time that they had just about run out of objections, and yet they came through with the following: "The sensibilities of many of our members are offended by the word 'Shop' as applied to the theater, and we do not wish the phrase 'Equity Shop' to appear in the agreement." We replied that the last thing in the world we wished to do was to offend any one's sensibilities, and consequently the following clause was inserted:

> The Actors Equity Association agrees that the words "Equity or closed shop" are not to be mentioned in the agreement.

It seems to me that we have met every reasonable objection that can be raised to our policy. In addition, the proposed agreement contains a very strong arbitration clause, as follows:

> Disputes between individual actors and managers shall be arbitrated by a Board consisting of an equal number of actors and managers, with, if desired, a paid umpire, satisfactory to both sides, whose salary shall be paid in equal parts by the two Associations.
>
> Questions involving the relations of the two Associations as a whole, the interpretation or enforcement of the Basic Agreement, and the issue of new contracts shall be arbitrated by a Superior Arbitration Board consisting of two actors, two managers, two laymen

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familiar with theatrical conditions, and one Chairman-Umpire.

Having exhausted, as we thought, all reasonable objections, the recalcitrant group in the Producing Managers Association have suddenly become "arty," and are now putting forth the perfectly unsupported statement that "The 'Equity Shop' policy will work enduring harm to the Art of the theater." But where is there any basis for such a statement? Has any enduring harm been done to the artistic quality of such attractions as "The Greenwich Village Follies," "The Show-Off," "Meet the Wife," "The Goose Hangs High," "The Shame Woman," "Sun-Up," "Tarnish," "Fashion," "White Cargo," the Theater Guild Productions, such as "Saint Joan" or "Fata Morgana," to Walter Hampden's "Cyrano de Bergerac," to Mr. Hackett's "Macbeth," to "Rust," or to any of the dozen companies of "Abie's Irish Rose"? I don't think so. And yet every single one of those companies has been operating from their beginning under the Equity Shop policy with satisfaction to everybody concerned. As Mr. Heywood Broun, of the New York "World," said in his column a few days ago:

> I am under the impression that a number of the best productions in this —the finest year the American theater has ever known—have been made under conditions closely approximating those which would prevail in the event of the establishment of the Equity Shop. Just why the arrangement should mean the end of high theatrical achievement I can't for the life of me see.

Well, neither can we.

Three American Vistas

By HERMANN HAGEDORN

Hermann Hagedorn has swiftly sketched a series of pictures of American life as it appears to the traveler's eye. Other sketches will be published in subsequent issues of The Outlook

The Breakfast Station

THE town is Carsonville, the State is Arkansas. A dreary village in a dreary land; drab, pathetic country; wet fields, heavy roads; at long intervals unpainted, weather-stained cabins and ramshackle sheds; a desolation, were it not for the magic touch of the autumn on the oaks. The wooded hills are clad in Persian magnificence.

There is twenty minutes for breakfast at Carsonville. I find myself darkly apprehensive. The stations we have lingered near since dawn justify the worst I have ever imagined about Arkansas. But my fears are put to shame. The Carsonville "depot" is modern and satisfying to the eye. A line stenciled on the step from the platform to the station porch invites my attention: "It is forbidden to sit here during train time." Near by stand a half-dozen slouching figures eying the step hungrily.

We crowd into the restaurant, greedily seizing our places at the lunch-counter. The waitresses are uniformed, black and white; their hair is neat, and nature in their complexions has, I surmise, been only modestly assisted. They are quick and energetic, wasting no time in pleasantries; one of them, tall and beautiful (for a year), regards her customers with a dignified and by no means unattractive disdain.

She has reason. The twenty-odd men and women at the counter could scarcely stir any other emotion, unless it were compassion. The faces are curiously dead, curiously without eagerness, without enthusiasm, without hope. The weak and the strong, the ruddy and the pallid, alike have the same look of passive acceptance of the dull round as it is. They are individually varied enough. There is the pasty-faced and spindly bank clerk, the ruddy teamster, the rotund politician with the big black hat, the small-town lawyer, the painted Jewess with the artificial golden curls, the young bride with the sophisticated eyes and the bronze bobbed hair fresh from the dyer, the old, old lady, a little fluttery amid the perils of travel, the sallow Kentucky colonel with cavernous cheeks and drooping mustaches—all types, and all individuals, and behind each a complex web of human relationships; endless stories—sordid, romantic, pitiful, with tragedy and horror always in the offing.

No sign of ardor in those faces, no indication of throbbing blood, no sense of a gorgeous adventure impending, no consciousness that there is darkness and there is light, and that light is afar from where they live their shadowy and insubstantial existences.

They eat and are filled.

Compassion or disdain? The man who could feel disdain for these would feel disdain in the chilling corridors of an orphan asylum.

The Cabin in the Blue Ridge

IT stands appallingly solitary on its patch of meadow sloping to the brook. Around it are the wooded hills, rich with the solemn glows of the year's "dying fall;" what wilderness, I wonder, is within?

The cabin is very old and all awry; its walls slant dangerously, a corner of the roof has fallen in; half of the plaster is gone from the chinks of the logs. The chimney is half crumbled; barely level with the room, its uneven sooty mouth appears, like a tramp's, full of misshapen, broken, blackened teeth.

And out of the chimney rises smoke.

What ineffective life finds a fit ending here?

North of Texas

A BARE, bleak town, and a crisp wind blowing out of a cold blue sky; low, ugly structures; a single paved street sloping northward; a crowd in the shadowed space between the train and the station; strong chestnut horses, hitched to buckboards; Ford cars dodging in and out like little black prairie-dogs.

In the distance a hint of trees and dwelling-houses; an enormous tank; a produce dealer's shed; lumber piled high, yellow in the sunlight.

Bleakness, emptiness, and a little man in a lavender shirt and a huge white apron standing in the doorway of a short-order restaurant, calling at intervals, like a town-crier: "Frahyed chicken, fohty cents; ham an' eggs, frahyed potatoes, pah-i, apple, apple pah-i!"

Even that appeal appears futile, for, though a dozen loafers saunter by, no one enters in answer.

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The Book Table

From Whitman to Sandburg

A Review

By David Morton

THE students at the University of Illinois, for whom these papers[1] originally were prepared, no doubt received a new realization of the accumulating wealth of their country's poetic literature. The "lay reader" also may gather from the volume something of the same surprised comprehension of the number and proportions of poets produced in America, almost within his own memory. It is an impressive list of names and volumes which Mr. Weirick marshals for attention; and when they are marched across the pages against their changing National background the spectacle takes on a historical interest that will be new and inveigling to many who have not yet come to think of American poetry in this perspective. As a survey of accomplishment in this field, it is ingeniously constructed and entertainingly written.

As a succession of critical estimates—and the chapters resolve themselves into this—the book labors under faults and delinquencies attributable in part to its class-room origin, and in part to the author's unbalanced system of values. Uncritical enthusiasm and aversion, with the virtue of contagion, have their uses in the class-room, as a needed stimulant and instigation to read. But these things have no place in serious critical writing offered to an adult and intelligent audience. These qualities make it possible—in these days of revaluation, when nothing is certain—to speak with unhushed superlatives and finality with regard to Whitman, to dismiss Miss Millay as being "without the gift of interest," and to eliminate Robinson as afflicted with "uneffectual sterility;" this, at the same time that Mr. Weirick is led to speak of Sandburg as a "Titan" and "perhaps the chief figure in American poetry since Whitman."

These gestures will serve to indicate the author's proneness to yield to his personal enthusiasm, at the same time that they reveal the character of the critical bias mentioned above. The degree of life in a poem or collection of poems, in Mr. Weirick's usual view, is precisely commensurate with the amount of robustious animal spirit manifested. It is this view-point that enables him to speak in such glowing terms of Masters and Sandburg at the same time that he complains of "sterility" or "futility" in Robinson and Frost. This quality—in conjunction with his insistence upon reflection of the time-spirit as the test of importance in a poet—leads Mr. Weirick into errors of critical estimate which one might wish away from a historical review so comprehensive and, on the whole, so satisfactory as this.

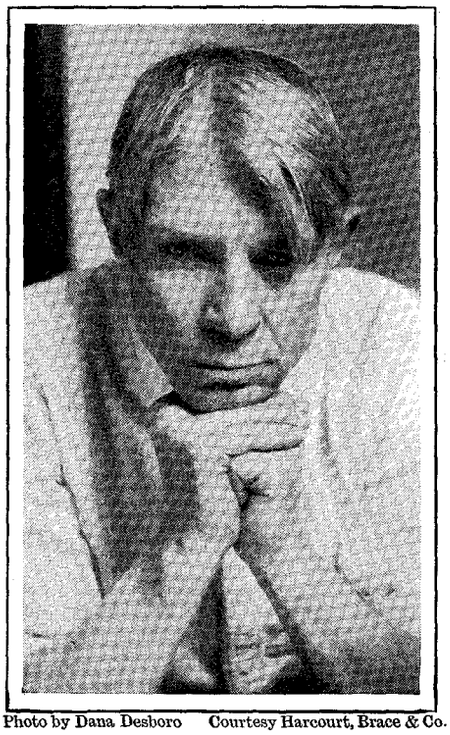

Photo by Dana Desboro Courtesy Harcourt, Brace & Co.

Carl Sandburg

Once allowance is made for the necessary results of certain mistaken standards of judgment, the reader may travel with Mr. Weirick in comparative good humor until discussion reaches the outstanding figures of to-day. The author complains, bitterly, of the "tired futility" of Frost and Robinson, as contrasted with the "barbaric optimism" of Masters, Lindsay, and Sandburg. This, I submit, is mistaking the somber aspect and low-pulsed speech of Frost for the ebb toward sterility, and misreading the steady and studious gaze of Robinson for the glaze of death.

Life is deep and rich and savory in the one, and sensitive and vibrant and mysterious in the other. Robustious and barbaric whooping-it-up is not the sole manifestation of energy. There is yet Carlyle's "rest of infinite motion, the sleep of the spinning top." As to futility—in the case of Robinson, for example—it is the failure of man up to the present to solve the riddle, not futility at the heart of life itself, that is insisted upon. Even in "Lancelot"—perhaps Mr. Robinson's most "futile" poem, in this meaning—there is a sense of glorious consummations for humanity, missed in man's erring strife to realize it. It is difficult to follow Mr. Weirick when he says that much of Robinson's work "is but a warming over . . . of Malory and Tennyson," and that these retellings "are not, usually, very important." Mr. Robinson has, to be sure, used the same symbols for Beauty, for Love, for Romance, that the older poets used. They are the traditional symbols. But to what different purpose has he used them! To light up the obscure recesses of man's subtilized thought and emotion, and to bring about a revelation in precincts unsuspected by Malory and Tennyson. Mr. Weirick is nearer to illuminative criticism when he says that perhaps Mr. Robinson's chief contribution to his time is the communication of the romance—he might have said the romantic mystery—of human motive.

To Masters, Sandburg, and Lindsay, as voices of the vigorous West, Mr. Weirick is amply just and offers revealing paragraphs of constructive criticism. A good deal in Lindsay he is shrewd enough to see as of temporary interest and value, though some of it—as "The Chinese Nightingale," for example—carries the enduring warrant of authentic beauty. Masters's penetration and passionate irony he ranks highly as the manifestation of a liberated intellect. But Mr. Weirick's god of this group is Sandburg, whose color etching and "crude actuality" and almost brutal voicing of Chicago's life—"the hog-butcher of the world"—thrusts Mr. Sandburg, in his eulogist's opinion, into the first place of importance in American poetry to-day. He will find none to dispute the energy and occasional color in his idol's movements and "slabs." Just how much of Sandburg may be fiery journalism and how much authentic and enduring poetry, and just how much of reality is revealed in his "crude actuality," are questions for a more judicious criticism to ponder.

On the whole—despite these occa-

[1] From Whitman to Sandburg in American Poetry. By Bruce Weirick. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.

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sional lapses from responsible critical judgment—the book is impressive of America's poetic development through the past half-century, and that development is presented in a manner illuminative of its significance.

The New Books

FICTION

HIGH FIRES. By Marjorie Barkley McClure. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $2.

In theme as well as in title this book resembles another recent novel about the Church in modern life, "The High Way," by Caroline Atwater Mason. Both stories defend the "orthodox" Protestant faith against the assaults of modern doubt and materialism. The leading champion in "The High Way" is a youth who sees hope for the world only in clinging to the Bible as the word of God. In "High Fires" the cause is defended by an old Presbyterian pastor in a growing American city. New ways and new doctrines encompass him. He is defeated and shelved; but his influence lives on. The rôle of the "younger generation" is vigorously taken by his pleasure-hungry daughter and her rationalist lover.

HIGH ROAD. By Janet Ramsay. The Century Company, New York. $2.

This is a sensitive and intelligent "first" novel, by a musician about a musician. Our only American masterpiece of this kind is Miss Cather's "Song of the Lark." That dealt with a girl singer of genius who was, after all, only a generation from the European stock. Peter Adams of "High Road" is as "Anglo-Saxon" as his name, and of long American descent. This is the story of him as a person, and also as a type of the American musician of high powers, struggling for development and recognition in an unfriendly or indifferent atmosphere. Peter's father, a college professor, gives him no encouragement. All his musical nurture comes from overseas —in Brandt, the violinist; Krause, the musical conductor; and, finally, Menoffsky, the great teacher in Berlin. And in the end (the end of this narrative) his ambition to be conductor of the excellent orchestra of his native city is denied, not because he isn't worthy of the post, but because he is Peter Adams, American.

As a living male Peter Adams is not much more real than the men of women novelists usually are. The real people are the women of the story: Peter's mother; Mrs. Tinkham, the American music patron; Lady Glencannon, the British music patron; the Frau Doktor, who was once an opera singer and cannot forget it; above all, Peter's love, who to the world is the distinguished English pianist Judith Hamilton. Peter's love affair represents, among higher things, that purple patch of sex business which seems almost obligatory in the best-regulated current novels. You go along quietly and decently for chapter after chapter till you feel, "Well, this is more like the old times, when spades were spades—but mostly kept in the toolshed." And then the usual thing happens, and you find yourself an intimate and uncomfortable spectator of certain manifestations and happenings on which in "real life" you would not choose to look. It's a matter of taste, of comely manners, not of morals. Do our storytellers infer too hastily that we have undergone a radical change in taste, in manners? Or do they rightly hold a mirror up to nature in this regard?

PRISONER WHO SANG (THE). By Johan Bojer. The Century Company, New York. $2.

This story, which from the publisher's notice we take to be really a "new book" and not merely a new version in English of an old book, expresses the Norwegian novelist at his best. Like most storytellers of Northern race, Bojer is always turning over the moral and spiritual problems of human existence. He has no interest in man as merely an animal or as merely a chaser of delight. Man, for him, is the blundering, purblind creature with "the great hunger;" with the piteous and glorious desire to find and fulfill his highest destiny. His "prisoner who sang" is a prisoner of life. He has come meanly into the world, the nameless son of a hunchback peasant woman in an obscure Norwegian forest. There is nothing to hearten him but his taste for effrontery and his gift of secret mirth. So he makes the most of these things. A brief experience of acting shows him the possibilities of impersonation, and he becomes a criminal with half a dozen personalities. One after the other he so identifies himself with these assumed characters that presently he finds difficulty in detaching any sort of intelligible self from them.

Then comes the experience that shifts this situation from comedy to tragedy. Andreas Bojet—alias Sorenson the evangelist, alias Iversen the bank messenger, Hansen the traveler, and so on—falls in love, loves really and deeply. As Adolph Willmann, Brazilian planter, he has met a Sylvia, a dear and lovely girl fit to mate with—whom? Who is he really? Not Adolph Willmann, though he has almost persuaded himself of it; nobody who can possibly marry a Sylvia. So a week before the wedding he disappears—is supposed to be drowned. He takes up the old life, is caught and jailed several times. Always he is driven to tempt adventure under some new impersonation. But he cannot forget Sylvia. Again, this time as a laborer, he seeks her, and knows presently that he can marry her for the asking. But he loves her too much, and at last makes choice of death as the only certain way of safety for either of them. For its swiftness and simplicity, its perfect economy of method, and its deep and melancholy tenderness the book belongs with that unforgetable study of the human heart, "The Great Hunger."

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

BOOKS IN BLACK OR RED. By Edmund Lester Pearson. New and Cheaper Edition. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.

This is a new and cheaper edition, and its exterior appearance has not been enhanced. Its contents, we are told, have in no wise deteriorated, but in the present busy season of book publication we have been unable to read it. Some time we intend to sit down and look it over, as it appears to be the kind of book which we regard with doting fondness.

INNOCENCE OF G. K. CHESTERTON (THE). By Gerald Bullett. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $2.25.

A brilliant criticism of Mr. Chesterton, considering him from half a dozen different aspects.

BIOGRAPHY

REAL SARAH BERNHARDT (THE). By Mme. Pierre Berton and Basil Woon. Boni & Liveright, New York. $3.50.

When Sarah Bernhardt died on March 26, 1923, there passed from this world a woman whose seventy-nine years had been lived to the utmost, who had experienced every degree of misfortune, and who had tasted the most dazzling success. In this book the world obtains a vivid picture of the life of that wonderful artist of whose real character, in spite of the widespread publicity she enjoyed, very little was known. Mme. Berton is the widow of Pierre Berton, the actor and playwright who more than any other man was responsible for Bernhardt's early triumphs. She was herself the actress's intimate friend and confidant for many years, and now, in accordance with Mme. Bernhardt's express wish, puts before the public "the real Sarah."

Sarah Bernhardt was born out of wedlock in Paris in 1844. Her father was a French law student by the name of Edouard Bernhardt, and her mother was a young Flemish girl who later, as Julie Van Hard, occupied a prominent position in the Parisian demi-monde, living for some time under the protection of the

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Duc de Morny, Louis Napoleon's half-brother. Sarah's early life was tempestuous. The story of her convent days has been told elsewhere. She studied art, but, though entranced by the theater, evidently did not at first realize her own talent in that line. She began to receive offers of marriage (she told Mme. Berton that during her life she had received more than a thousand), but she listened to none. It was the birth of her son, the outcome of an ardent love affair with a man of high rank, that changed Sarah's whole existence, giving her an object for which to live. From that day she worked unceasingly through discouragements that would have killed an ordinary woman and in the teeth of such adverse criticism as seems impossible to one who recalls her genius. Mme. Berton says little about Maurice Bernhardt. Before he was twenty his income from his mother was sixty thousand francs a year, and her sole stipulation was that he should dress properly and learn the art of fencing. Perhaps further comment is unnecessary.

Bernhardt's marriage was the most tragic episode of her life. Carried away by his good looks and his affected indifference to herself, she married Jules Damala, a Greek whose infidelities were the talk of Paris, who actually ill treated her, and who died of morphine after spoiling her life for seven years.

The book is extremely interesting. In spite of her artistic triumphs, which were many and great, the commonplace reader cannot help a feeling of regret that one so gifted, who gave so much pleasure to others, should not have experienced a little of the prosaic happiness that falls to the lot of her less talented sisters.

POETRY

CHILSWELL BOOK OF ENGLISH POETRY (THE). Compiled by Robert Bridges, Poet Laureate. Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London. $2.

Another anthology, but a distinguished one. The compiler is the Poet Laureate; the book is excellently printed and bound, and is presented at a moderate price for one whose *format* is notably good. It is a primer of English poetry, designed for the use of schools. Better still, it would make an admirable gift for any girl or boy of the high school or college age. The fine paper, printing, and binding make us wonder how so many cheap-looking books can be offered at an even higher price than this.

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PSYCHOLOGY IN THEORY AND APPLICATION. By Horatio W. Dresser. The Thomas Y. Crowell Company, New York. $3.50.

In addition to the explanation of the usual and better-known aspects of psychology, this book (which is of considerable length) adds chapters on the newer subjects, like psychoanalysis, sleep, and dreams; a long section on vocational and industrial psychology; and a section devoted to the study and uses of psychology in social life. It is well balanced and clearly presented.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

CHINESE LANTERNS. By Grace Thompson Seton. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $3.50.

A description of modern China, and particularly of the position to-day of the woman of China in social life, in politics, and in the industries. Well illustrated.

LIFE OF THE ANCIENT EAST (THE). By James Baikie. The Macmillan Company, New York. $4.

Descriptions of the excavations carried on in Egypt, Babylonia, Troy, and Greece.

WESTWARD HOBOES. By Winifred Hawkridge Dixon. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50.

First published 1921. Entertaining book about motoring adventures in the Far West and Southwest. Admirable photographic illustrations.

WHERE TRADITIONS LINGER. By Allan Fea. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $5.

Wanderings in little-known parts of England; history, legend, and superstition.

MISCELLANEOUS

CENTURY OF EXCAVATION IN THE LAND OF THE PHARAOHS (A). By James Baikie, F.R.A.S. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $3.

Beginning with the researches made by the savants who accompanied Napoleon on his famous Egyptian expedition, this book presents succinctly the story of the revelations that have been made of ancient Egypt up to and including the work of Lord Carnarvon in connection with Tutankhamen's tomb. The account is well written and well illustrated and is published at an opportune time.

DIET FOR CHILDREN (AND ADULTS). By Lulu Hunt Peters, M.D. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $2.

This is a practical book and should be helpful in aiding parents to feed their children properly and to understand the various elements that go into food and their part in nutrition. Not only are various diets and menus given thorough analysis, but there are ample suggestions concerning the actual preparation of many important dishes. In general, the book contains a broad and useful study of nutrition from its essential angles.

One mistake, we feel, however, was in introducing tables of average weights, and holding to the mistaken principle that only the average is normal, and that slender children necessarily are malnourished. The type of a child's build is a matter of heredity. Malnutrition, then,

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cannot be discovered by weight, but only by a medical examination. And this is something every child should have.

DANCE IN EDUCATION (THE). By Agnes L. Marsh and Lucile Marsh. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York. $10.

Modern "interpretative" dancing is often beautiful, but sometimes silly. Of what it is interpretative, there is frequently a great confusion except in the mind of the instructor or the ballet master. If the dance is beautiful, this, of course, does not matter. If the dance is silly, it may still be a good exercise and an aid in the cultivation of bodily grace. But it should not then be inflicted upon spectators. As interpretative dancing has been somewhat of a fad, those persons who uncritically accept every new fad have willingly suffered, or made others to suffer, a good many rather painful exhibitions of solemn posturing, cavorting, and prostrating by young ladies in "classical" attire.

This book furnishes a short description, the music, and in many instances a pictorial illustration for a number of dances to be used in schools and classes. Some of them are beautiful, indeed. Some will be valuable as gymnastic exercises. The directions for some of them make us shudderingly remember certain moments of intense weariness which we have spent in theaters—as when (to quote this work) "Rumor, a malevolent figure, drawing her dark cloak about her, shrinks back to lurk in the shadow, her wicked gaze already fixed on the next victim." This recalls the dance of the Maiden and the Indian Savage, given by Miss Crummles, the Infant Phenomenon, and another member of the troupe, in which the Maiden "interpreted" something or other by a kick of her left leg. The full account may be found in "Nicholas Nickleby," by Charles Dickens.

LEAD: THE PRECIOUS METAL. By Orlando C. Harn. The Century Company, New York. $3.

The mining and smelting of lead; its characteristics; its use in building, in type-making, in ammunition, in musical instruments, in the sports, and in a hundred other ways. A comprehensive and interesting book about one important metal.

PRICE OF FREEDOM (THE). Speeches and Addresses. By Calvin Coolidge. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.50.

Addresses by Mr. Coolidge as Governor of Massachusetts, as Vice-President, and as President. A brief speech given when he received a medal for his action in the Boston police strike does not give much support to the charge that he accepted glory which rightfully belonged to others. He most explicitly and generously awards the major credit in the affair to Police Commissioner Curtis and to the people and press of the State.

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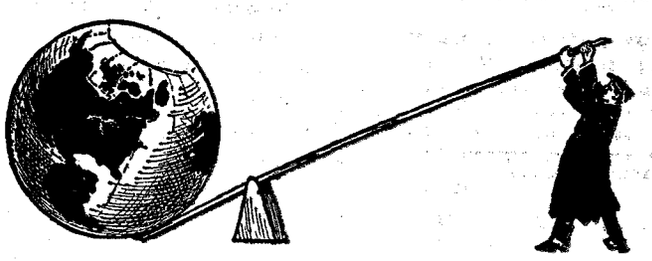

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Books Received

FICTION

HISTORY OF PENDENNIS (THE). By William Makepeace Thackeray. Edited by Robert Morse Lovett. 2 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

BOOKS FOR YOUNG FOLKS

INFIELD RIVALS. By R. H. Barbour. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

SUMMER GHOSTS AND WINTER TOPICS. By Felix E. Schelling. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia. $2.

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

EVERYDAY PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY. By John T. Grennan and A. B. Meredith. Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston.

SEVEN QUESTIONS IN DISPUTE. By William Jennings Bryan. The Fleming H. Revell Company, New York.

POETRY

JOHN DAVIDSON'S POEMS. Boni & Liveright, New York.

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

BUDDHISM AND BUDDHISTS IN CHINA. By Lewis Hodous, D.D. The Macmillan Company, New York.

CENTURY OF ANGLICAN THEOLOGY (A). By Clement C. J. Webb. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

CENTURY READINGS IN THE BIBLE. By Cunliffe and Batterhouse. The Century Company, New York. $2.

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BOOKS, MAGAZINES MANUSCRIPTS

POETRY markets 25c. "Authorservice," Branford, Conn.

BUSINESS OPPORTUNITIES

PARTNER wanted; to invest $10,000 in summer camp on border of Yellowstone Park. Must be square shooter with nerve. Unless ready for action right now, don't answer. Jack Hamilton, Lakeview, Mont.

STATIONERY

EMBOSSED STATIONERY. NEW—INEXPENSIVE—DISTINCTIVE. Embossed by our plateless process on white, blue, light amber, or gray paper in gold, blue, green, black, or red. 200 single sheets (half embossed, half plain) and 100 envelopes, or 100 folded sheets and 100 envelopes, all embossed, $2. West of the Mississippi add 20c. Write for free samples. Lewis, 284 Second Ave., Troy, N. Y.

PERSONAL STATIONERY—200 single sheets, 100 envelopes, nicely printed on Hammermill bond, dark blue ink, postpaid $1.00. Beyond third zone add 10c. Frank B. Hicks, Macedon Center, N. Y.

EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

CO-OPERATIVE PLACEMENT SERVICE. Institutional executives and assistants. Social workers, secretaries, housekeepers, dietitians, cafeteria managers. Companions, governesses, mothers' helpers. The Richards Bureau, 68 Barnes St., Providence.

HELP WANTED

Business Situations

HOTELS NEED TRAINED MEN AND WOMEN. Nation-wide demand for high-salaried men and women. Past experience unnecessary. We train you by mail and put you in touch with big opportunities. Big pay, fine living, interesting work, quick advancement, permanent. Write for free book, "YOUR BIG OPPORTUNITY." Lewis Hotel Training Schools, Suite K 5842, Washington, D. C.

WOMAN of education and initiative wanted by publishing house for traveling position; this is an educational sales proposition with every opportunity of advancement for the woman capable of developing into an executive; liberal drawing account and commission; all transportation paid; do not apply unless you are sure your time is worth $75 a week. Write, stating age and experience, to B. E. Sparrow (5th floor), 50 West 47th St., New York, N. Y.

WANTED, by child placing agency in Connecticut, experienced field worker. State training, experience, and salary expected. Address 4,917, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

FARMER and handy man wanted. No servants need apply. Middle-aged married man having farm experience wanted on five acre place. Long Island fifty minutes from New York. Must drive children to school in Ford, care for one cow and few hens, family vegetable garden and fruit trees, keep things neat and do chores. Apartment over garage with furnace and bathroom. Vegetables, coal, and milk given. Salary $80. Steady place, considerate treatment. Family away three midwinter and three midsummer months. References required. 4,891, Outlook.

WANTED—Capable, reliable woman as working housekeeper for family of four (2 children) in New Jersey suburb. 4,893, Outlook.

WANTED—Reliable person for housework and simple cooking: middle May. Two ladies, Plainfield, New Jersey. Comfortable home; moderate salary. References. 4,901, Outlook.

CARETAKERS—Man and wife, to be responsible for care and safety of town house. Write, giving references and all particulars, 4,909, Outlook.

NURSE—Responsible woman wanted as nurse to assist mother in care of infant and supervision of two older children. Maid kept. Write Mrs. John H. Jackson, Scarsdale, N.Y., or telephone Scarsdale 312.

WANTED—Caretaker for department of boys, 12-16 years old, in Protestant institution, western New York State. Write age, experience, and salary expected. 4,908, Outlook.

WANTED—Grenfell Mission, Labrador—2 housekeepers for children's homes. Also 2 grade teachers for boarding schools for English speaking children. Small salaries and all expenses. International Grenfell Association, 156 Fifth Ave., New York City.

MOTHER'S helper or nursery governess, Protestant, educated, refined, 30-40 years. Two children, ages 9 and 7 years. Spring Lake, summer; Summit, N. J., winter. Highest references essential. Permanent situation. Salary $80. 4,915, Outlook.

Teachers and Governesses

WANTED—Governess for boy of nine to come now to Reading, Pa., and stay over summer months at Eagles Mere, Pa. 4,921, Outlook.

SITUATIONS WANTED

Professional Situations

ORGANIST—Associate, American Guild of Organists—desires church position with remuneration and scope for teaching organ, piano, theoretical subjects. Reference. 4,905, Outlook.

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SITUATIONS WANTED

Business Situations

EXPERIENCED woman desires position as buyer and caterer in hotel, club, tea-room, or institution, Ten years' experience. Address 4,824, Outlook.

YOUNG Englishwoman desires post as secretary. Excellent education. Good references. Accustomed to traveling; willing to live abroad. Apply 4,876, Outlook.

Companions and Domestic Helpers

WANTED, by daughter of clergyman, position as companion to elderly lady. Exceptional references. Address 4,871, Outlook.

TEACHER, daughter of college professor, desires summer position—companion or any position of trust. Good traveler, familiar with United States, Canada, and Europe. 4,869, Outlook.

YOUNG English lady, speaking little German and French, recently returned from Europe, wishes to accompany lady as companion-secretary or family traveling to Europe. 4,890, Outlook.

SMITH graduate as *companion or governess* for travel in Europe. Knows French. New York references. 4,889, Outlook.

ENGLISH lady and schoolgirl daughter of artistic and diplomatic circles would take charge of children at summer home or hotel thoughout vacation. Both speaking French all the time, helping with Italian, German, Latin, music, needlework. Or similar post with invalid Very capable. Fullest references. 4,888, *Outlook*.

COLLEGE graduate desires position as companion or governess. References exchanged. 4,895, Outlook.

ENGLISHWOMAN, returning England, would help voyage and month Continent for fare and expenses. Excellent references. 4,898, *Outlook*.

LIBRARIAN, university graduate, wishes summer position as European traveling companion or governess. Available June 28, 4,899, Outlook.

COMPANION-nurse for semi-invalid lady or gentleman. Highest references. 4,897, Outlook.

WANTED, by young woman, college junior, position as traveling companion or tutor this summer. 4,919, Outlook.

POSITION desired by school dean; social secretary, traveling companion, or hostess in resort hotel. 4,902, Outlook.

WOMAN, refin d, reliable, practical nurse, desires care invalid, matron, housemother, any executive position. 4,900, Outlook.

CULTURED young woman desires position as housemother or chaperon. Will make herself generally useful. School preferred. 4,904, Outlook.

COMPANION or TUTOR—Young man, 25 years old, college graduate and student abroad, desires position as companion or tutor in travel during the summer months. Experience. References. Arthur Norman Sharp, Loomis Boys' School, Windsor, Conn.

WANTED—Position as managing housekeeper by motherly middle-aged woman. 4,907, Outlook.

CARE of mentally defective or crippled girl, or secretarial work in home. 1876 Stanwood Road, E. Cleveland, O. Eddy 7559 W.

HOUSEMOTHER, companion, supervising housekeeper. Experienced. Position of trust. Would travel. References. 4,912, Outlook.

YOUNG man, college graduate, desires summer position, beginning June 1, as boys' companion, tutor, or chauffeur. 4,915, Outlook.

Teachers and Governesses

COLLEGE junior wants summer work as tutor or athletic director or both. Best references given. 4,852, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED teacher desires position as teacher of textiles and hand-loom weaving or in textile laboratory. 4,840, Outlook.

REFINED, experienced nursery governess. American. Best references. 4,920, Outlook.

YOUNG lady wishes position as governess *or tutor while studying music*. Experienced. 4,892, Outlook.

GOVERNESS. Refined young French lady wishes position. English, Spanish, piano. Highest references. Travel anywhere. 4,894, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED tutor-companion for boy. College graduate doing graduate work. Free June 1 to September 25. Highest references. 4,911, Outlook.

EX-TEACHER with daughter (10), son (4), June 1—September 1, as governess or will take charge of home with or without children. Best references. 4,914, Outlook.

MISCELLANEOUS

TO young women desiring training in the care of obstetrical patients a six months' nurses' aid course is offered by the Lying-In Hospital, 307 Second Ave., New York. Aids are provided with maintenance and given a monthly allowance of $10. For further particulars address Directress of Nurses.

SHOPPING by New York expert who will send things, services free. References. Hattie Guthman, 309 West 99th St.

WANTED—Defective persons to board. Address W., Pawling, N. Y.

REFINED woman, southern New York, would give unusual or unwanted child mother's loving care. Capable, trustworthy. 4,922, Outlook.

By the Way

VICE-PRESIDENTS of the United States are often inconspicuous when in office and soon forgotten afterwards. What schoolboy can name, for instance, off-hand, a half-dozen Vice-Presidents in office before 1860? This thought comes to mind on reading an incident narrated in "Scribner's Magazine." The late Frank Bacon, the star of "Lightnin'," happened to be standing in the lobby of a Chicago hotel near Mr. Coolidge while he was Vice-President. An alert reporter, seeing the two notables, conceived the idea of having them photographed together. He asked Mr. Coolidge how he would like to be photographed with Frank Bacon. "Frank Bacon—who's he?" the Vice-President is said to have asked. The reporter explained who he was. "All right," said Mr. Coolidge. Then the reporter approached Mr. Bacon and asked him how he would like to be photographed with Mr. Coolidge. "And who's Coolidge?" Mr. Bacon wanted to know. "Nobody but the Vice-President of the United States," announced the reporter. So the two men were introduced and photographed.

Loose immigration regulations make enemies for America, an article in the "Current History Magazine" says. "Recently," it declares, "an emigrant debarred at Ellis Island exclaimed, 'When I get back I shall do everything I can to see that the Bolsheviki destroy America.'" Yet there were good reasons why the authorities sent him back. Practically all who are debarred return with sorrow and resentment, and often to untold hardships.

"Loratin' it 'round" is a phrase used down in Mississippi, according to "The Pine Torch" of Braxton, to express the passing on of news. "Colonel W. O. Finkbine," the "Torch" says, "'lorated it 'round' that the Piney Woods School was one of the best pieces of work being done by a graduate of the University of Iowa." The word 'lorate' as used with this meaning has not, so far as we know, found a place in the dictionaries.

Bernard Shaw and G. K. Chesterton, as reported in an Associated Press despatch, have locked horns on the question whether the American breakfast, including fruit, is preferable to the traditional British morning meal. "The Americans," says Chesterton, "sleep in hothouses, and wake up so thirsty that they are obliged to devour quantities of fresh fruit and drink gallons of ice water and alcohol, but it isn't breakfast. If there is one glorious thing in England which must never die it is the breakfast of bacon and eggs."

"Why bacon?" Shaw inquired. "Do the Jews never enjoy their breakfasts?"

"Mr. Shaw would have been a very intelligent man," rejoined Chesterton, "if only he had always had boiled elephant or tiger for his morning meal."

"Pardon me," Shaw retaliated, "Mr. Shaw IS a very intelligent man. Methuselah could hardly have been expected to go on eating pigs and pullets every morning for 969 years. Manna will be the food of the future. Must we always be condemned to slops and marmalade? Now if Chesterton had attacked buckwheat cakes and molasses I should have sympathized, but fresh fruit! My mouth waters."

Typographical errors have persisted from the days of Gutenberg and his successors, one of whom, it is said, made 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52, read, "We shall all be hanged [changed] in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye." To-day, with the advent of the linotype, errors of transposition, either of letters or lines, are more frequent than any others. Here is an example which a subscriber sends, clipped from a recent issue of the "Rocky Mountain News:"

> Mrs. Charles F. Haughwout is passing a few days ah the souse guest of Mrs. Fred Doerr at her country home.

From "Karikaturen" (Christiania):

Absent-minded to the Last.—"The celebrated professor died and his coffin was laid out in the churchyard. But in the night he forgot that he was dead, got up and went home."

Only two plausible answers to the "unguessable" riddle published in this column March 12 have been received: "Firefly" and "Bedtime."

Several readers have guessed the "unguessable" conundrum published April 16. The answer is: "CLIO."

The "Harvard Lampoon" recently published a "St. Nicholas" number; in the puzzle department it printed this difficult problem for juvenile readers:

CROSS AND CIRCLE MYSTERY

O	O	X
O		
X		X

x to play and win by one or more moves.

This puzzle, submitted to the Thanksgiving number, 1873, has never been solved. We hope that some of our clever little readers will send in the correct solution this month.

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